

## George Washington Papers, Series 2, Letterbooks 1754-1799

**To WILLIAM FAIRFAX**

Alexandria, August 11, 1754.

Honble. Sir: Since my last to you, I have received, by Mr. Splitdorph, the letter therein alluded to, of the 1st Inst. the contents of which are nearly the same with the other received from the Governour four days before dated the 3d Inst. The following is an exact copy of it.

The Council met yesterday, and, considering the present state of our forces, and having reason to think that the French will be reinforced next spring, it was resolved, that the forces should immediately march over the Allegany mountains, either to dispossess the French of their fort, or build one in a proper place, that may be fixed upon by a council of war. Colonel Innis has my orders for executing the above affair. I am therefore, now, to order you to get your regiment completed to 300 men, and I have no doubt, that you will be able to enlist what you are deficient of your number very soon, and march directly to Will's Creek to join the other forces; and, that there may be no delay, I order you to march what companies you have complete, and leave orders with the officers remaining, to follow you, as soon as they shall have enlisted men sufficient to make up their companies. You know, the season of the year calls for dispatch. I depend upon your former usual diligence and spirit, to encourage your people to be active on this occasion. Consult with Maj. Carlyle what ammunition which may be wanted, that I may send it up immediately I trust much to your diligence and dispatch in getting your regiment to Will's Creek as soon as possible.

Colonel Innis will consult you in the appointment of officers for your regiment. Pray consider, if practicable,

that, to send a party of Indians &c to destroy the corn at the fort and Logtown would be of great service to us, and a considerable disappointment to the enemy. I can say no more, but to press the dispatch of your regiment to Will's Creek, and that success may attend our arms and just Expedition, is the Sincere desire of, Sir, yours &c.

Thus, Sir, you will see I am ordered, with the utmost dispatch, to repair to Will's Creek with the regiment; to do which, under the present circumstances, is as impracticable, as it is (as far as I can see into the thing) to dispossess the French of their fort; both of which, with our means, are morally impossible.

The Governor observes, that, considering the state of our forces at present, it is thought advisable to move out immediately to dispossess the French. Now that very reason, "the state of our forces," is alone sufficiently opposed to the measure, without a large addition to them. Consider, I pray you, Sir, under what unhappy circumstances the men at present are; and their numbers, compared with those of the enemy, are so inconsiderable, that we should be harrassed and drove from place to place at their pleasure. And to what end would the building of a fort be, unless we could proceed as far as Redstone, where we should have to take water, and where the enemy can come with their artillery, &c, I cannot see, unless it be to secure a retreat, which we should have no occasion for, were we to go out in proper force and properly provided, which I aver cannot be done this fall; for, before our force can be collected, with

proper stores of provisions, ammunition, working-tools, &c., it would bring on a season in which horses cannot travel over the mountains on account of snows, want of forage, slipperiness of the roads, high waters, &c. neither can men, unused to that life, live there, without some other defence from the weather than tents. This I know of my own knowledge, as I was out last winter from the 1st of Nov'er till some time in January; and notwithstanding I had a good tent, was as properly prepared, and as well guarded, in every respect, as I could be against the weather, yet the cold was so intense, that it was scarcely supportable. I believe, out of the 5 or 6 men that went with me, 3 of them, tho' they were as well clad as they could be, were rendered useless by the frost, and were obliged to be left upon the road.

But the impossibility of supporting us with provisions is alone sufficient to discourage the attempt; for, were commissaries with sufficient funds to set about procuring provisions, and getting them out, it is not probable that enough can be conveyed out this fall to support us thro' the winter; for you are to consider, Sir, as I before observed, that the snows and hard frosts set in very early upon those mountains; and, as they are in many places almost inaccessible at all times, it is then more than horses can do to clamber up them; but allow that they could, for want of provender they will become weak and die upon the road, as ours did, tho' we carried corn with us for that purpose, and purchased from place to place. This reason holds good, also, against driving out live stock, which, if it could be done, would save some thousands of Horse Loads, that might be employed in carrying flour, (which alone, not to mention ammunition, tools, &c.) we shall find will require

more horses, than at this present moment can be procured with our means.

His Honour also asks, whether it is practicable to destroy the corn at the fort and at Log-town? At this question I am a little surprised, when it is known we must pass the French fort and the Ohio to get to Log-town; and how this can be done with inferior numbers, under the disadvantages we labour, I

see not; and, of the ground to hope, we may engage a sufficient party of Indians for this undertaking, I have no information, nor have I any conception; for it is well known, that notwithstanding the expresses, that the Indians sent to one another, and all the pains that Montour and Croghon (who, by vainly boasting of their interest with the Indians, involved the country in great calamity, by causing dependance to be placed where there was none,) could take, never could induce above 30 fighting men to join us, and not more than one half of those serviceable upon any occasion.

I could make many other remarks equally true and pertinent; but to you, Sir, who, I am sensible, have acquired a pretty good knowledge of the country, and who see the difficulties that we labour under in getting proper necessities, even at Winchester, it is needless: therefore I shall only add some of the difficulties, which we are *particularly* subjected to in the Virginia regiment; and to begin, Sir, you are sensible of the sufferings our soldiers underwent in the last attempt, (in a good season) to take possession of the Fork of the Allegany and Monongahela. You also saw the disorders those sufferings produced among them at Winchester after they returned. They are yet fresh in their memories, and have an irritable effect. Thro' the indiscretion of Mr. Splitdorph, they got some

intimation that they were again ordered out, and it immediately occasioned a general clamour, and caused 6 men to desert last night; this, we expect, will be the consequence every night, except prevented by close confinement.

In the next place, I have orders to compleat my regiment, and not a 6d. is sent for that purpose. Can it be imagined, that subjects fit for this purpose, who have been so much impressed with, and alarmed at, our want of provisions, (which was a main objection to enlisting before,) will more readily engage now without money, than they did before with it? We were then from the first of February till the first of May, and could not compleat our 300 men by 40; and the officers suffered so much by having their Recruiting expenses withheld, that they unanimously refuse to engage in that duty again, without they are refunded for the past, and a sufficient allowance made them in future. I have in the next place (to shew the state of the Regiment) sent you a report thereof by which you will perceive what great deficiencies there are of Men, Arms, Tents, Kettles, Screws (which was a fatal want before), Bayonets, Cartouch Boxes, &c., &c. Again, were our men ever so willing to go, for want of the proper necessities of life they are unable to do it; the chief part are almost naked, and scarcely a man has either shoes, stockings, or hat. These things the merchants will not credit them for; the country has made no provision; they have not money themselves; and it cannot be expected, that the officers will engage for them again, personally, having suffered greatly already on this head; especially, now, when we have all the reason in the world to believe, they will desert whenever they have an opportunity. There is not a man that has a Blanket to secure him from cold or wet. Ammunition is a material

article, and that is to come from Williamsburg, or wherever the Governor can procure it. An account must be first sent of the quantity which is wanted; this, added to the carriage up, with the necessary Tools, &c., that must be had, as well as the time of bringing them round, will, I believe, advance us into that season, when it is usual, in more moderate climates, to retreat into Winter Quarters, but here, with us, to begin a campaign.<sup>62</sup>

The promises of those Traders, who offer to contract for large Quantities of flour, are not to be depended upon; a most flagrant instance of which we experienced in Croghan, who was under obligation to Maj. Carlyle for the delivery of this Article in a certain time, and who was an eyewitness to our wants; yet had the assurance, during our sufferings, to tantalize us, and boast of the quantity he could furnish, as he did of the number of Horses he cou'd command; notwithstanding, we were equally disappointed of these also; for out of 200 head he had contracted for, we never had above 25 employed in bringing the flour that was engaged for the Camp; and even this, small as the quantity was, did not arrive within a month of the time it was to have been delivered.

Another thing worthy of consideration, is, if we depend on Indian assistance, we must have a large quantity of proper Indian goods to reward their services, and make them presents; it is by this means alone, that the French command such an interest among them, and that we had so few. This, with the scarcity of Provisions, was proverbial; would induce them to ask, when they were to join us, if we meant to starve them as well as ourselves. But I will have done, and on

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62. There was a misunderstanding between the governor and the House of Burgesses, which prevented any appropriation of money at this juncture. It had been a custom in former times that when the governor signed a patent for land, he should receive a fee of a pistole (about \$3.60) for every such signature, which was a perquisite of his office. This fee had been revived by Governor Dinwiddie, but the House of Burgesses considered it an onerous exaction, and determined to resist it. As the governor refused to sign patents on any other terms, the burgesses had the year before passed some spirited resolves, and sent an agent to England with a petition to the King's Council that this custom might be abolished. The agent was Peyton Randolph, then attorney general of Virginia, and afterwards president of the first American Congress. While he was absent, the governor wrote to a correspondent in England: "I have had a great deal of trouble and uneasiness from the factious disputes and violent heats of a most impudent troublesome party here, in regard to that silly fee of a pistole; they are very full of the success of their agent, which I give small notice to." The attorney general returned, without effecting his whole object, but the board of trade made new regulations, by which relief was afforded in certain cases, and the fee was prohibited except where the quantity of land patented was more than zoo acres. (See *Journal of the House of Burgesses*, November, 1753.)

The agent's expenses were £2,500. The governor refused to sanction any bill for their payment. Piqued by this obstinacy, the House of Burgesses affixed the amount to a bill for raising £20,000 for his Majesty's service. Equally indignant at this presumption, the governor sent back the bill without his signature, and prorogued the assembly for six weeks. Thus no supplies were granted, and the governor was induced to write that "there appeared to him an infatuation in all the assemblies in this part of the world." The treasurer of the colony had already paid the agent by order of the assembly, without any special grant, which was no doubt a high disrespect to the governor and council. In giving an account of this affair to Governor Sharpe of Maryland, Governor Dinwiddie said: "I am now persuaded that no expedition can be conducted here with dependence on American assemblies; and I have written to that purpose home, and propose a British act of Parliament to compel the subjects here to obedience to his Majesty's commands, and to protect their property from the insults of the French."— *Sparks*.

ly add assurances of the regard and affect'n with which I am, &c,

#### **To THE SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF BURGESSES**

Williamsburg, October 23, 1754.

Sir: Nothing could have given me, and the Officers under my command, greater satisfaction, than to have received the thanks of the House of Burgesses, in so. particular and honour able a manner, for our Behaviour in the late unsuccessful Engagement with the French at the Great Meadows; and we unanimously hope, that our future Conduct in the Service of our Country may entitle us to a continuance of its approbation. I assure you, Sir, I shall always look upon it as my indispensable duty, to endeavour to deserve it.

I was desired, by the Officers of the Virginia Regiment, to offer their grateful thanks for the Honour which has been conferred upon them; and hope the enclosed will be indulgently received, and answer their, and the intended purpose of, Sir, Your most etc.

#### **To THE SPEAKER, AND GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE OF BURGESSES**

We, the Officers of the Virginia Regiment, are highly sensible of the particular Mark of Distinction, with which you have honoured Us, in returning your Thanks for our Behaviour in the late Action; and

can not help testifying our grateful Acknowldgments for your high sense of what We shall always esteem a Duty to our Country and the best of Kings.

Favoured with your Regard, We shall zealously endeavour to deserve your Applause, and, by our future Actions, strive to convince the Worshipful House of Burgesses, how much We Esteem their Approbation; and, as it ought to be, Regard it, as the Voice of our Country.

Signed for the whole Corp,<sup>71</sup>

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71. At this point in the record "Letter Book No. 1," *Washington Papers*, pages 10, 11, 12, and 13 are blank. It was evidently the intention to enter here Washington's letter to Dinwiddie, resigning his commission, the draft of which could not be located in 1784–85, the year in which the letters were copied into this volume. No copy of the resignation has as yet come to light.

## **To COLONEL WILLIAM FITZHUGH**

[NOTE: Governor Sharpe, of Maryland, had been commissioned by the King as commander in chief of all the forces to be used against the French. Colonel Fitzhugh of Rousby Hall, near the mouth of the Patuxent River, Md., was second in rank and commanded in the absence of Governor Sharpe. Brock thinks him a grandson of the emigrant William Fitzhugh, of Stafford, Va. Sharpe wished to bring Washington back into the service and Fitzhugh wrote persuasively to Washington (November 4): "I am confident, that the General has a very great regard for you, and will by every circumstance in his power make you very happy. For my part, I shall be extremely fond of your continuing in the service, and would advise you by no means to quit it. In regard to the Independent Companies, they will in no shape interfere with you, as you will hold your post during their continuance here, and, when the regiment is reduced, will have a separate duty."

Belvoir, November 15, 1754.

Dear Sir: I was favored with your letter from Rousby Hall, of the 4th instant. It demands my best acknowledgements for the particular marks of Esteem you have expressed therein; and for the kind assurances of his Excellency Governour Sharpe's good wishes towards me. I also thank you, and sincerely, Sir, for your friendly intention of making my situation easy, if I return to the service; and I do not doubt, could I submit to the Terms, that I should be as happy under your command, in the absence of the General, as under any gentleman's whatever: but I think, the disparity between the present offer of a Company, and my former Rank, too great to expect any real satisfaction or enjoyment in a Corps, where I once did, or thought I had a right to, command; even if his Excellency

had power to suspend the orders received in the Secretary of War's Letter; which, by the by, I am very far from thinking he has, or will attempt to do, without fuller Instructions than I believe he has; especially, too, as there has been a representation of this matter by Govenour Dinwiddie, and, I believe, the Assembly of this State; we have advices that it was received before Deurmarree<sup>73</sup> obtained his Letter.

All that I presume the General can do, is, to prevent the different Corps from interfering, which will occasion the Duty to be done by Corps, in

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73. Capt. Paul Demere (?).

stead of Detachments; a very inconvenient way, as is found by experience.<sup>74</sup>

You make mention in your letter of my continuing in the Service, and retaining my Colo's Commission. This idea has filled me with surprise; for if you think me capable of holding a commisson that has neither rank nor emolument annexed to it, you must entertain a very contemptible opinion of my weakness, and believe me to be more empty than the Commission itself.

Besides, Sir, if I had time, I could enumerate many good reasons, that forbid all thoughts of my Returning; and which to you, or any other, would, upon the strictest scrutiny, appear to be well-founded. I must be reduced to a very low Command, and subjected to that of many who have acted as my inferior Officers. In short, every Captain, bearing the King's Commission, every half-pay Officer, or other, appearing with such a commission, would rank before me; for these reasons, I choose to submit to the loss of Health which I have, however, already sustained, (not to mention that of Effects,) and the fatigue I have undergone in our first Efforts; rather than subject myself to the same inconveniences, and run the risque of a second disappointment.

I shall have the consolation of knowing, that I have opened the way when the smallness of our numbers exposed us to the attacks of a Superior Enemy; that I have hitherto stood the heat and brunt of the Day, and escaped untouched in time of extreme danger; and that I have the Thanks of my Country, for the Services I have rendered it.

It shall not sleep in silence, my

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74. That is, the independent and Colonial companies must always act separately and not in concert by detachments from each. The inconvenience of this method was proved in the case of Captain MacKay, previous to the battle of the Great Meadows. Colonel Innes, at Wills Creek, contrived to keep up a nominal command by acting under two commissions, his old one from the King, received in the



former war, and his new one from Governor Dinwiddie, to each of which he appealed as occasion required.

having received information that those peremptory Orders from Home, which, you say could not be dispensed with, for reducing the Regiments into Independent Companies, were generated, hatched and brought from Will's Creek. Ingenuous treatment and plain dealing, I at least expected.<sup>75</sup> It is to be hoped the project will answer; it shall meet with my acquiescence in every thing except personal Services. I herewith enclose Governour Sharp's Letter, which I beg you will return to him, with my Acknowledgments for the favour he intended me, assure him, Sir, as you truly may, of my reluctance to quit the Service, and of the pleasure I should have received in attending his Fortunes, also inform him, that it was to obey the call of Honour, and the advice of my Friends, I declined it, and not to gratify any desire I had to leave the military line. My inclinations are strongly bent to arms.

The length of this, and the small room I have left, tell me how necessary it is to conclude, which I will do as you always shall find me. Truly and sincerely etc.

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75. Governor Dinwiddie wrote to the Earl of Halifax (October 25): "As there have been some disputes between the regulars and the officers appointed by me, I am now determined to reduce our regiment into Independent Companies, so that from our forces there will be no other distinguished officer above a captain." It is clear, therefore, that this was done at the governor's own motion, probably in concert with Governor Sharpe, and not by any orders which had as yet been received from higher authority. Dinwiddie could plead the Carthagera expedition as a precedent; but the memory of the treatment received by the Colonial troops on that expedition was not soothing to the Colonies. Washington resigned in October because of this fantastic scheme which would have placed him under officers whom he had formerly commanded.

### **\*To ROBERT ORME<sup>76</sup>**

Mount Vernon, March 15, 1755.

Sir: I was not favoured with your agreeable Letter, (of the 2d) till yesterday, acquainting me with the notice his Excellency, is pleased to honour me with, by kindly desiring my Company in his Family Its true, Sir, I have, ever since I declined a command in this Service express'd and Inclination to serve the Ensuing Campaigne as a Volunteer; and this believe me Sir, is not a little encreased, since its likely to be conducted by a Gentleman of the General's great good Character;



But beside this, and the laudable desire I may have to serve, (with my poor abilities) my King and Country, I must be ingenuous enough to confess, I am not a little biass'd by selfish and private views. To be plain Sir, I wish for nothing more earnestly than to attain a small degree of knowledge in the Military Art: and believing a more favourable opportunity cannot be wished than serving under a Gentleman of his Excellency's known ability and experience, it will, you must reasonably, imagine not a little contribute to influence me in my choice. But, Sir, as I have taken the liberty so far to observe that freely, I shall beg your Indulgence yet a little longer, while I say, that the only bar that can check me in the pursuit of these my desires is the inconveniences that must necessarily arise on some proceedings in a late space—(I mean before the General's arrival) had in some measure abated the edge of my Intentions and determined me to

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76. Robert Orme was a lieutenant in the Coldstream Guards, who accompanied Braddock to Virginia as an aide, with the rank of captain. He was wounded at the Monongahela; returned to England, and resigned from the army. He married the only daughter of Charles, Viscount Townshend. His journal of the Braddock expedition was printed by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania in 1855.

lead a life of greater inactivity, and into which I was just entering at no small expence, the business whereof must greatly suffer in my absence.

I shall do myself the pleasure of waiting upon his Excellency, so soon as I hear of his arrival at Alexandria, (and would sooner, was I certain where) till which I shall decline saying further on this head; begging you'll be kind enough to assure him, that I shall always retain a grateful Sense of the favour he was kindly pleas'd to offer me, and that I should have embraced this opportunity of writing to him, had I not some little time ago wrote a congratulatory Letter on his safe arrival &c. And as ! flatter myself, you will favour me in communicating my Sentiments herein, it will need no other mentn. or reptition.

You do me a singular favour, in proposing an acquaintance which cannot but be attended with the most agreeable Intimacy on my side; as you may already experience, by the familiarity and freedom with which I now assume to treat you; a freedom, which, even if disagreeable, you'll excuse, as I shall lay the whole blame at your door, for encouraging me to thro' lack of that formality which otherwise might have appear'd in my deportment, on this occasion.

The hope of shortly seeing you will be an excuse for my not adding more than that I shall endeavour to approve myself worthy your friendship, and that beg to be esteem'd your most Obedient  
Servant<sup>77</sup>

77. The text is from the first letter in a small volume labeled "Letter Book Relating to Braddock's Defeat." It contains 48 letters and 1 or 2 memoranda, all in Washington's writing, and dates from Mar. 15, 1755, to December 6 of that year. It was this volume that drew from a well-known American author and scholar the comment that "Perhaps the most touching proof of his [Washington's] own self-depreciation was something he did when he had become conscious that his career would be written about. Still in his possession were the letter-books in which he had kept copies of his correspondence while in command of the Virginia Regiment between 1754 and 1759, and late in life he went through these volumes, and, by interlining corrections, carefully built them into better literary form."

Ford, in his edition of the *Writings of Washington* (vol. 1, p. xx), says: "The changes he [Washington] made at a late period of his life are so distinctive, both in form of letters and the colors of the ink, as to make an error of date impossible." The proper explanation of the matter is, simply, that after Washington returned to Mount Vernon in 1783 and had an opportunity to examine the magnificent piece of work done by Richard Varick in transcribing his Revolutionary War letters, the idea of preserving all his letters in book form seems to have crystallized. The earliest letters were these Braddock-campaign epistles and a casual perusal of them showed Washington the necessity of clarifying his youthful redundancy of expression and simplifying his involved thought, so that Robert Lewis could do the copying without making continual appeals for decisions as to punctuation and meaning. This is the common-sense view of the matter, when romance is rigorously excluded. Because of the value of the original texts as a record of Washington's letter-writing ability in his early twenties, a great deal of time and trouble has been given to deciphering them. The task was difficult, as the heavy ink of 30 years later has almost obliterated that of 1755, and in some instances Washington scraped off the original with a knife; but the texts here printed are Washington's letters as he wrote them at the time. The changes made at the later period were incorporated by Lewis in the letterbook record and were adopted by Ford, after deliberate consideration, in his edition of the *Writings* and have been followed by all others. His text should be compared with this edition for comparison as to the improvement of Washington's style and etymology in the course of 30 years.

**\*To ROBERT ORME**

Mount Vernon, April 2, 1755.

Dear Sir: The arrival of a good deal of Company (among whom is my Mother, alarm'd with the report of my attending your Fortunes) prevents me the pleasure of waiting upon you to day as I intended;<sup>78</sup> therefore I beg you'll be kind enough to make my compliments and excuse to the Genrl.,

who I hope to hear is greatly recover'd from his indisposition; and recruited sufficiently to prosecute his journ'y. to Annopolis.

I find myself much embarrass'd with my Affairs; having no person in whom I can confide, to entrust the management with. Yet, under these disadvantages and circumstances, I am determined to do myself the honour of accompanying you with this proviso only, that the General will be kind enough to permit my return, so soon as the [ ? ] or grand Affair is over, (if desir'd). Or, if there should be any space of inaction long enough to admit of a visit (for otherwise I could by no means obtain my own consent, what ever private losses I might sustain) to indulge me therein and I need not add, how much I should be obliged by joining at Wills Creek only,<sup>79</sup> for this the General has kindly promised. These things Sir, however unwarrantable they may appear at first sight, I hope will not be taken amiss when its consider'd how unprepar'd I am at present to quit a Family, and Estate scarcely settled, and in the utmost confusion.<sup>80</sup>

I have inclos'd you a letter from Colo. Fairfax to Governour Shirley,<sup>81</sup> which with his Compliments, he desir'd might be given to Mr. Shirley: He also sends his Blessing to you, and desires

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78. General Braddock landed in Virginia on February 20. The transports with the British troops, who were to act under him, came into the Chesapeake soon afterwards. These he ordered up the Potomac to Alexandria, or, as it was then sometimes called, Bellhaven, where the troops debarked. Five companies were cantoned there, one company was stationed at Dumfries, six companies at Fredericksburg and Falmouth, three and a half companies at Winchester, and half a company at Conococheague. In Maryland one company was cantoned at Bladensburg, another at Upper Marlboro, and two at Frederick. Some of the troops were landed below Alexandria, at the nearest point to Fredericksburg. The general remained at Williamsburg, planning with the governor preparations for the approaching campaign.

The following order of the King, dated at St. James, Nov. 12, 1754, respecting the rank of Colonial officers, was brought out by General Braddock: "All troops serving by commission signed by us, or by our general commanding in chief in North America, shall take rank before all troops, which may serve by commission from any of the governors, lieutenant or deputy governors, or president for the time being. And it is our further pleasure, that the general and field officers of the provincial troops shall have no rank with the general and field officers, who serve by commission from us; but that all captains and other inferior officers of our forces, who are or may be employed in North America, are, on all detachments, courts-martial, and other duty, wherein they may be joined with officers serving by commission from the governors, lieutenant or deputy governors, or president for the time

being of the said provinces, to command and take post of the said provincial officers of the like rank, though the commissions of the said provincial officers of like rank should be of elder date."

Since his resignation in October, Colonel Washington had remained inactive at Mount Vernon. General Braddock, knowing his value and the importance of securing his services to the expedition, directed Mr. Orme, his aide-de-camp, to write to him the following letter, the original of which is in the *Washington Papers*, proposing an expedient by which the chief obstacles of rank would be removed.

"Williamsburg, 2 March, 1755.

"Sir: The general, having been informed that you expressed some desire to make the campaign, but that you declined it upon some disagreeableness that you thought might arise from the regulations of command, has ordered me to acquaint you, that he will be very glad of your company in his family, by which all inconveniences of that kind will be obviated. I shall think myself very happy to form an acquaintance with a person so universally esteemed, and shall use every opportunity of assuring you how much I am, Sir, your most obedient servant.

"Robert Orme, Aid-de-camp."

— *Sparks*.

Captain Orme was with the army at Alexandria, 9 miles from Mount Vernon. Soon after General Braddock arrived in Virginia he wrote (March 10) to the governors of Massachusetts, New York, and Pennsylvania, requesting them to meet him at Annapolis in Maryland to concert measures for future operation. The general, Commodore Keppel, and Governor Dinwiddie proceeded to Annapolis, but the place of meeting was afterwards changed to Alexandria, where they all assembled on April 13 and concerted measures for the united action of the middle and northern colonies. The minutes of this council are printed in *Documentary History of New York*, vol. 2, p. 376. It was thought by some that New York ought to be the center of operations, as affording greater facilities for attacking the French at their strongest points, but Braddock's instructions were positive for him to proceed to the Ohio. He marched from Alexandria on April 20.— *Sparks*.

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79. In reply Captain Orme wrote: "The general orders me to give you his compliments and to assure you his wishes are to make it agreeable to yourself and consistent with your affairs, and, therefore, he desires you will so settle your business at home as to join him at Will's Creek if more convenient to you; and, whenever you find it necessary to return, he begs you will look upon yourself as entirely master, and judge what is proper to be done."

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80. Lawrence Washington's estate, which included, of course, Mount Vernon. From 1755 on, for several years, Washington paid a yearly rent for Mount Vernon to Col. George Lee, who had married Lawrence Washington's widow, Ann Fairfax.

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81. Gov. William Shirley, of Massachusetts, commander in chief of the British operations in the Colonies.

you may be a good boy and deserve them [ ? ] at present he entertains those pleasing, and sanguine hopes that a dutiful and worthy Son shou'd expect from the most paternal fondness of an indulgent Father, this for your comfort. I herewith send you a small Chart of the back Country, which tho' imperfect and roughly drawn (for want of proper utensils) may, notwithstanding, give you a better knowledge of these parts than that you have hitherto had an opportunity of acquiring.<sup>82</sup>

I shall do myself the honour of waiting upon the General so soon as I hear of his return from Annapolis. My Compliments attends him, Mr. Shirley &c. And I am Sir etc.

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82. This map has not come to light. It was probably destroyed with the baggage lost at the Monongahela and Dunbar's retreat.

### **\*To WILLIAM BYRD**

Mount Vernon, April 20, 1755.

Dr. Sir: I was sorry it was not in my power to wait upon you at Westover last Christmas. I had enjoy'd much satisfaction in the thought when an unexpected accident put it entirely out of my power to comply either with my promise, or Inclination; both of which equally urg'd me to make the Visit.

I am now preparing for, and shall in a few days sett off, to serve in the ensuing Campainge; with different Views from what I had before; for here, if I can gain any credit, or if I am entitled to the least countenance and esteem, it must be from serving my Country with a free, Voluntary will; for I can very truly say, I have no expectation of reward but the hope of meriting the love of my Country and friendly regard of my acquaintances; and as to any prospect of obtaining a Comn. I have none, and am pretty well assur'd it is not in Genl. Braddock's to give such a one as I wou'd

accept off as I am told a Compa. is the highest Comn. that is now vested in his gift. He disir'd my Company this Campainge, has honoured me with particular marks of Esteem, and kindly invited me into his Family; which will ease me of that expence, which otherwise wou'd undoubtedly

have accrued in furnishing a proper Camp Provision; whereas the expence will now be easy, (comparatively speaking) as baggage Horses, tents and some other necessarys will constitute the whole of the charge tho' I mean to say to leave a Family just settling, and in the utmost confusion and disorder (as mine is in at present) will be the means of my using my private Fortune very greatly, but however this may happen, it shall be no hindrance to my making this Campaigne. I am Sir with very g't esteem, etc.

**\*To CARTER BURWELL<sup>84</sup>**

Mount Vernon April 20, 1755.

Sir: From the goodness of your offer last Assembly, I flatter myself you will be kind enough

to acquaint the Gentlemen of the Committee (at this meeting) with the loss I sustained during my Appointment as Paymaster to the Virginia Forces (either by Robbery or neglect of charging) and so far favour my Pretensions, as to solicit them in my behalf, which I am convinced will be the means of them refunding me the money I lost to the amount of 50 odd pounds. I shou'd not have presum'd to ask this fay. (nor shall I in any shape urge it) as the Gentlemen were so kind to grant me an allowance for my trouble if I had not, in other respects, suffered considerably in the Service; for besides the loss of many valuable Paper's, a valuable Servant who died a few days after of his Wounds, my wearing Apparel, Books, Horses &c. which amounted to no trifling Sum in the whole, and in which I alone suffer'd by being the only person who got their things out a few days before the Engagement I say not to mention the above things, I lost at the time a very valuable and uncommon Circumportor calculated not only for Superficial Measure, but for taking of Altitudes, and other useful purposes which I carried out solely for the Public use imagining it necessary for laying of Grounds for Forti'ns. &c. I also lost many other things w'ch I sd. have receiv'd and sh'd have mention'd in a Publick way upon my first comg. in, had I not become Sensible of the Genl. was pretty much pester'd with complaints of this sort from several of the Officers whose losses, tho' I knew were greatly inferiour to mine, yet I also knew they were less able to bear them, and this motive alone prevented me from mentg. any thing relating to myself, on this hd. till now, when I hope you will be kind enough

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84. Chairman of the military committee of the House of Burgesses.

to serve me.

I am just ready to embark a 2d. time in the Service of my Country; to merit whose regard and esteem, is the sole motive that induces me to make this Campaigne; for I can very truly say I have

no views, either of profitting or rising in the Service, as I go a Volunteer, witht. rank or Pay, and am certain it is not in Genl. Braddocks power to give a Comn. that I wd. accept; I might add, that so far from being serviceable I am thoroughly convinced it will prove very detrimental to my private Affairs, as I shall have a Family scarcely Settled, and in gt. disorder but however prejudicial this may be, it shall not stop me from going. A happy Issue to all your resolves is most sincerely wish'd by Sir etc.

**\*To JOHN ROBINSON<sup>83</sup>**

Mount Vernon, April 20, 1755.

Dear Sir: I little expected when I wrote you last I shou'd so soon engage in another Campaign; but in this I hope I may be allow'd to claim some small share of merit; if it is consider'd that the sole motive wch. invites me to the Field, is the laudable desire of servg. my Country; and not for the gratification of any lucrative ends; this, I flatter myself, will manifestly appear by my going a Volunteer, without expectation of reward, or prospect of attaining a Command; as I am confidantly assur'd it is not in Genl. Braddocks power to give a Comn. that I wou'd accept. Perhaps with any other, the above declaration might be look'd upon as a piece of self sufficient merit; which, being unwilling to loose, I choose to proclaim it myself; but by you Sir, I hope it will be taken in a different light, who seem'd to sympathize in my disappointments, and lent your friendly Aid to reinstate me in a suitable Command; which mark of your approbation was not lost upon one who is always sensible off and ready to acknowledge an obligation; and this is the reason why I am so much more expressive in my Sentiments to you than I shou'd choose be to the World, whose Censures and Criticisms often place the best design's in the worst light; and but, to be ingenuous, I must confess I had other Intentions in writing and if there is any merit in going out upon such terms as I do I was unwilling to loose it among my Friends,

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83. Speaker of the Virginia House of Delegates and treasurer of the colony.

who I did not doubt might be made to believe I had some advantageous offers that engaged my services, when in reality it is very far from it; for I expect to be a considerable looser in my private Affairs by going. Its true, I have been importuned to make this Campaign by Genl. Braddock in his Family who I suppose, imagined that the small knowledge I have had an opportunity of acquiring of the Country, Indians, &c. worthy of his notice; and therefor thought I might become useful to him in the progress of this Expedition.



Colo. Carter Burwell the last Assembly, upon hearing that I had lost 50 odd pounds during my appt. as Paymaster, desir'd I wd. petition the Committee to have it refunded: assurg. me at the same time that he wou'd solicit the Gentn. in my behalf. I declined it then thinking it might not be well received, as I had been allowed a Comn.; but if he shou'd propose it at a future meeting, and it does not appear to carry a face of unreasonableness, I hope you will do me the favour to 2d. him. I must own after meeting with the indulgencies I did, I sh'd. not have ask'd this, had it not been proposed by a Member; and had I not been so considerable a looser before in the Service, loosg. many valuable Papers, cloathing, Horses and sevl. other things; some of which, and of no inconsiderable value, I car'd out entirely for the publick use, and forbore mentg. of it till this as I knew you were greatly Pester'd with complaints of this sort from Officers that were less able to bear them, tho' their losses are much more inconsiderable than mine,

for I had unfortunately got my baggage from Wills Creek but a few days before the Engagemt. in wch. I also had a valuable Servt. Wounded, who died in a few days after. I thought it expedient just to mention these Facts that you might turn them to any advantage you see proper, or to drop it altogether, if you think they be unreasonable. I heartily wish a happy Issue to all your Resolves, &c.

**\*To WILLIAM FAIRFAX**

Mount Vernon, April 23, 1755.

Dear Sir: I cannot think of quitting Fairfax<sup>85</sup> without embracing this last opportunity of bidding you farewell. I this day set out for Wills Creek, where I expect to meet the Gen'l. and to stay, I fear too long, as our March must be regulated by the slow movements of the Train,<sup>86</sup> which I am sorry to say, I think will be tedious in advancing very tedious indeed, as answerable to the expectation I have long conceived tho' few believ'd.

Alexandria has been honoured with 5 Governors in Consultation; a happy presage I hope, not only of the success of this Expedition, but for our little Town; for surely such honours must have arisen from the Commodious, and pleasant situation of this place

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85. Mount Vernon is in Fairfax County.

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86. The train of artillery.

the best constitutional qualitys for Popularity and encrease of a (now) flourishing Trade.

I have had the honour to be introduced to the Governors; and of being well receiv'd by them all, especially Mr. Shirley, whose character and appearance has perfectly charm'd me, as I think every word and every action discovers the Gent'n. and great Politician. I heartily wish something of such unanimity amongst us, as appear'd to Reign between him and his Assembly; when they, to expedite the Business, and forward his journey here sat till eleven, and twelve o'clock at Nights.

It will be needless, as I know your punctuality requires no repetition's to remind you of an Affair, ab't. which I wrote some time ago; therefore I shall only beg my compliments to Mr. Nicholas<sup>87</sup> and his Lady, and to all Friends who think me worthy of their inquiries. I am Dear Sir etc.

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87. Robert Carter Nicholas, who succeeded John Robinson as treasurer of Virginia in 1766 and served until after 1775.— *Toner*.

**\*To MRS. GEORGE WILLIAM FAIRFAX**

Bullskin, April 30, 1755.

Dear Madam: In order to engage your correspondence, I think it expedient just to deserve it; which' I shall endeavour to do by embracing the earliest, and every opportunity of writing to you.

It will be needless to expatiate on the pleasures that communication of this kind will afford me, as it shall suffice to say; a correspondance with my Friends is the greatest satisfaction I expect to enjoy, in the course of the Campaigne, and that none of my friends are able to convey more real delight than you can to whom I stand indebted for so many obligations.

If an old proverb can claim my belief I am certainly [ ? ]<sup>88</sup> share of success; for surely no man ever made a worse beginning, than I have; out of 4 Horses which we brought from home, one was kill'd outright, and the other 3 render'd unfit for use; so that I have been detain'd here three days already, and how much longer I may continue to be so, the Womb of time most discover.

I must beg my Compliments to Miss. Hannah, Miss Dent,<sup>89</sup> and any other's that think me worthy of their enquiries.

I am Madam Yr. most Obedt. Servt.

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88. The erasure at this point was made with a knife and the writing is entirely obliterated.

89. Hannah Fairfax, who married Warner Washington, of Gloucester, and Miss Elizabeth Dent, who lived at Belvoir. Miss Dent was the daughter, or sister, of Thomas Dent, long a clerk in the Northern Neck office.

**\*To WILLIAM FAIRFAX**

Winchester May 5, 1755.

Dear Sir: I overtook the General at Frederick Town in Maryland and from thence we proceeded to this place, where we shall remain till the arrival of the 2nd. Division of the Train, (which we hear left Alexandria on Tuesday last); after that we shall continue our March to Wills Creek; from whence it is imagined we shall not stir till the latter end of this Month, for want of Waggon's, and other conveniences to Transport our Baggage &c. over the Mount'n.

You will naturally conclude that to pass through Maryl'd. (when no business requir'd it,) was an uncommon, and extraordinary route for the Gen'l. and Colo. Dunbarr's Regiment to this place; but at the same time the reason, however, was obvious to say that those who promoted it had rather have the communication should be that way, than through Virginia; but I now believe the Imposition has to evidently appeared for the Imposer's to subject us to the same Inconveniences again.<sup>90</sup> please to make my Compt's. to Colo. G.<sup>91</sup> to whom I shall write by the

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90. The selection of the route was due to Sir John St. Clair, who thought to gain dispatch by dividing the army, sending one division with powder and ordnance by Winchester and the other with military and hospital stores by Frederick, in Maryland. On reaching Frederick, Col. Thomas Dunbar found there was no road through Mary. land to Fort Cumberland, and he was compelled to cross the Potomac and take the Winchester route. St. Clair expected Governor Morris to build a road to Wills Creek, and taking him to task sharply for his failure, received a "set-down" from Morris, as Governor Shirley called it.— *Ford*.

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91. George William Fairfax.

next opportunity, and excuse haste. I am &c.

**\*To THOMAS, LORD FAIRFAX**

Winchester, May 6, 1755.

My Lord: I have had the misfortune to lose 3 of my Horses since I left home; and not bringing money enough to buy other's and to answer all the contingent expences that may arise in the course of the Campaigne, I have made bold to solicit your Lordship's assistance which will infinitely oblige me.

About 40 or 50 £ will supply my wants, and for which I shou'd gladly pay your Lordship Interest, beside many thanks for the favour, as I am greatly distress'd at this present, not being able to proceed well with't.

The Gen'l. sets out to morrow, and proceeds directly to Wills Creek; which, together with the hurry of Business, that has happen'd since we came to Town,

has been a means of depriving me of the pleasure of waiting upon your Lordship, as I intended to have done. Please to make my Compt. to Colo. Martin.<sup>92</sup> I am Yr. Lordships etc.

**\*To JOHN AUGUSTINE WASHINGTON**

Winchester, May 6, 1755.

Dear Jack: A very fatiegueing Ride, and long round brought me to the General (the day I parted with you) at Frederick Town; a small Village 15 Miles below the blue Ridge in Maryland from thence we proceeded to this place, where we have halted since Saturday last, and shall depart from Wills Creek to morrow.

I find there is no probability of Marching the Army from Wills Creek till the latter end of this Month, or the first of next; so that you may imagine time will hang heavy upon my hands. I meet with a familiar complaisance in this Family, especially from the General, who I hope to please without

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92. Col. Thomas Bryan Martin was the son of Denny Martin and Lord Fairfax's sister Frances. He was county lieutenant of Hampshire and a burgess from that county, 1756-1758.

difficulty, for I may say it can scarce be done with as he uses, and requires less ceremony than you can well conceive.

I have order'd the Horse Gist to Bullskin,<sup>93</sup> and my own here, if serviceable; otherwise you must have them carr'd down when Countess is sent up: I have conceive'd a good Op'n of Gist, therefore, I

hope you will not let him want for proper usage, if he sh'd be s't instead of the Greys; which will be the case if they are able to perform the Journey.

I hope you'll have frequent oppert'ys to expatiate upon the State of my Affairs, w'ch you adm'r to such degree of satisf'n to a Person in my situation. At present I have nothing to add but my comp'ts to all friends, particularly the good Family at Belvoir who I hope to hear are in good health.<sup>94</sup>

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93. Bullskin, the name of Washington's plantation in Frederick County.

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94. The Fairfax family. John Augustine Washington, the favorite brother of George Washington, was then living at Mount Vernon and taking care of the place. He became the father of Bushrod Washington, to whom George Washington transferred much of the affection he felt for John Augustine, after the latter's death.

**\*To MRS. MARY WASHINGTON**

Winchester, May 6, 1755.

Honour'd Madam: I came to this place last Saturday, and shall set out to morrow with the General for Wills Creek; where I fear we shall wait some time for a sufficient number of Waggon's to transport us over the Mountains.

I am very happy in the General's Family, and I am treated with a complaisant Freedom which is quite agreeable; so that I have no occasion to doubt the satisfaction I propos'd in making the Campaigne.

As we have met with nothing yet worth relating I shall only beg my Love to my Brother's and Sister's; and Compliments to Friends.

I am, Honour'd Madam,

Yr. most Dutiful and Obedt. Son,

**\*To COLONEL AUGUSTINE WASHINGTON<sup>2</sup>**

Fort Cumberland, May 14, 1755.

Dear Brother: I left home the 24th. of last Month, and overtook the General at Frederick Town in Maryland: from whence we proceeded by slow Marches to this place; where, I fear, we shall remain sometime for want of Horses and Carriages to convey our Baggage &c. over the Mountains; but more especially for want of Forage; as it cannot be imagin'd that so many Horses as we require, will be subsisted without a great deal.

We hear nothing particular from the Ohio; only that the French are in hourly expectation of being join'd by a large body of Indians; but I fancy they will find themselves so warmly attack'd in other places, that it will [not be convenient for them to spare many.]<sup>3</sup>

I am treated with freedom, and respect, by the General and his Family; so that I don't doubt but I shall spend my time very agreeably this Campaign, tho' not advantageously; as I conceive a little experience will be my chief reward, please to give my Love to my Sister, &c. I am, Dr. Sir, etc.

This Letter was not sent.

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2. Augustine Washington was half brother to George and full brother to Lawrence. George Washington generally referred to him as Austin Washington.

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3. The phrase in brackets was inserted by Washington in 1785 after erasing that written in 1755 so completely that it can not be deciphered. The attacks on the French in other places alluded to the plans for the campaign in the northern colonies.

### **\*To MAJOR JOHN CARLYLE**

Fort Cumberland, May 14, 1755.

Sir: I Overtook the General at Frederick Town in Maryl'd. and proceeded with him by way of Winchester to this place; which gave him a good opportunity to see the absurdity of the Rout, and of Damning it very heartily. Colo. Dunbar's Regiment was also oblig'd to cross over at Connogogee and come down within 6 Miles of Winchester to take the new road up, which gave me infinite satisfaction.

We are to Halt here till forage can be brought from Philadelphia, which I suppose will introduce the Month of June upon us; and then we are to proceed upon our tremendous undertaking of transporting the heavy Artillery over the Mountains, which I believe will compose the greatest difficulty of the Campaign; For as to any apprehensions of the Enemy I think they need only to be provided against to be well regarded, as I fancy the French will be oblig'd to draw their force from the

Ohio to repel the Attacks in the North, under the command of Governour Shirley &c, who will make three different attempts immediately.

I could wish to hear what the Assembly and other's have done, and are doing, together with any occurrences as may have happen'd since my departure.

I am in very great want of Boots, and

have desir'd my Bror. Jno. to purchase a pair and send them to you, who I hope will contrive them to me, by the first opportunity. I have wrote to my old correspondant Mrs. Carlyle and must beg my Compliments to my good Friend Dalton,<sup>97</sup> &c. I am &c.

NB. This Letter was never sent.

**\*To MRS. JOHN CARLYLE<sup>95</sup>**

Fort Cumberland, May 14, 1755.

Dear Madam: As I have no higher expectation in view than an intimate correspondance with my Friends, I hope, in that, I shall not be disappointed; especially by you and Mrs. Fairfax, who was pleas'd (tho. seldom) to honour me with yours last time.<sup>96</sup>

We arrived here the 10th., and for ought I know may Halt till the 10th. of next Month, before we receive Waggon's &c. to transport our Baggage and Horses to the Allegany.

We have no news in the Camp to entertain you with at present, but I hope to be furnish'd with some thing agreeable against my next, when I shall not fail to communicate it: Interim, I am Dr. Madam Yr. most Obedt. etc.

This Letter was not sent.

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97. John Dalton, of Alexandria.

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95. Mrs. John Carlyle (Sarah Fairfax, sister-in-law of Sarah Cary, Mrs. George William Fairfax).

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96. When Washington marched toward the Ohio in 1754.



**\*To JOHN AUGUSTINE WASHINGTON**

Fort Cumberland, May 14, 1755.

Dear Brother: As wearing Boots is quite the Mode, and mine in a declining State; I must beg the favour of you to procure me a pair that is good, and neat, and send them to Major Carlyle, who I hope will contrive them as quick as my necessity requires.

I see no prospect of moving from this place; as we have neither Horses nor Waggons enough, and no forage for them to subsist upon but what is expected from Philadelphia; therefore, I am well convinced that the trouble and difficulty we must encounter in passing the Mountain for want of proper conveniences, will equal all the other Interruptions of the Campaign; for I conceive the March of such a Train of Artillery in these Roads to be a tremendous undertaking: As to any danger from the Enemy I look upon it as trifling, for I believe they will be oblig'd to exert their utmost Force to repel the attacks to the Northward, where Governour Shirley and other's with a body of 8,000 Men, will annoy their Settlements, and attempt their Forts.

The Gen'l. has appointed me one of his aids de Camps,<sup>99</sup> in which Character I shall serve

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99. This appointment was proclaimed to the troops in general orders of May 10.

this Campaign, agreeably enough, as I am thereby freed from all commands but his, and give Order's to all, which must be implicitly obey'd.

I have now a good opportunity, and shall not neglect it, of forming an acquaintance, which may be serviceable hereafter, if I can find it worth while pushing my Fortune in the Military way.

I have wrote to my two female correspondents<sup>1</sup> by this opportunity, one of which Letters I have inclos'd to you, and beg y'r. deliverance off. I shall expect a Succinct acc't of all that has happened since my departure.

I am, dear Jack, etc.

The above Letter was not sent.

**\*To MRS. GEORGE WILLIAM FAIRFAX**

Fort Cumberland, May 14, 1755.

Dear Madam: I have at last, with great pains and difficulty, discovered the Reason why Mrs. Wardrope is a greater favourite of Genl. Braddock's than Mrs. Fairfax; and met with more respect at the late review in Alexandria.

The cause I shall communicate, after rallying you for neglecting the means that introduced her to his favour which to say truth were in [ ? ] a present of delicious Cake,

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1. Mrs. Carlyle and Mrs. Fairfax, who were sisters-in-law.

and potted Wood cocks; that wrought such wonders [ ? ] upon the Heart of the General [ ? ] as upon those of the gentlemen that they became instant Admirers, not only the charms, but the Politeness of this Fair Lady.

We have a favourable prospect of halting here three Weeks or a Month longer for Waggon, Horses and Forage; so that it is easy to conceive my situation will be very pleasant and agreeable, when I dreaded this (before I came out) more than every other Incident that might happen in the Campaign.

I hope you will favour me with your corrispondance since you see my willing desirousness[ ? ] to deserve the Honour, and of approving myself Your most Obedt. and most Humble Servt.<sup>98</sup>

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98. The bracketed query marks denote a word or words so crossed over or erased by Washington, 30 years after writing this letter, as to be indecipherable. The word "desirousness," in the last paragraph, is a doubtful reading, though the first two syllables are correct.

## MEMORANDUM

The 15th. of May I was sent to Colo. Hunter<sup>4</sup> for a supply of Money of 4,000 £ Sterling and arriv'd as far as Winchester, on my way thither the day following, from whence I dispatch'd an express to him (fearing he might be out) to provide that sum, and meet me at Williamsburgh with it, and proceeded myself thro Fairfax where I was detained a Day in getting Horses.

4. Col. John Hunter, of Hampton, and paymaster general of Braddock's forces.

**\*To JOHN HUNTER**

Winchester, May 16, 1755.

Sir: I have Orders from the Gen'l. and Instructions from Mr. Johnston,<sup>5</sup> to receive 4,000£ Stlg. at the rate of £4:0:7¼ pr. Oz., which will suffice for the present contingencies.

I have therefore dispatched this express with order's to make all imaginable haste to you, who I am told will immediately repair to Wmsburg. with the Money, and pay it there, according to contract. I must beg your utmost diligence in this affair as I have Order's not to wait, because the whole Army will halt at Wills Creek till I return, at an immense expence.

I have Letter's from the Gen'l. and Paymaster, with Bills and proper Instruction's; all of which I shall deliver when I have the pleasure of meeting you, which I expect will be in Williamsburg on Wednesday next, as I am now upon my way down, and shall delay no time. I am, &c.

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5. John Johnston.

**\*To MR. BELFOUR**

Winchester, May 16, 1755.

Sir: If Colo. [Hunter] sh'd. be from home, I hope you will open this Letter to see and attend to the contents, that you may dispatch a Messenger to him immediately, to prevent his trouble in getting the 10 or 15 Th'd. Pounds ment'd. in a former Letter but repair immediately to W'msburg with the 4,000 L, which is all I am to receive at pres't. I am Sir, etc.

**\*To ROBERT ORME**

Claybourn's Ferry

8 O'Clock, Thursdy. Morn'g. [May 22, 1755.]

Dear Sir: In pursuance of His Excellency's Commands I proceeded, to this place with all convenient dispatch; But, as I apprehd., and very justly, that the getting and posting Horses at proper Stages, in order to expedate my return, wou'd. occasion some delay. I dispatched an express from Winchester to Hampton advising Colo. Hunter of my business, and desiring him to meet me in Williamsburg with the money: which sd. express I this day met

on his return from there, with a verbal message from Govt. Dinwiddie informing me that Colo. Hunter set out to the Northward last Week for money, and wont be returnd. in 14 or 15 Days; and that my journey will prove abortive; however this may happen I shall continue down till I have other information; but thought it first expedient (as I compleatly believe the report myself) to give you this early intelligence that the Genl. may determine accordingly.

As I am fatigued and a good deal disorder'd by constant riding in a droughth that has almost destroy'd. this part of the Country I shall proceed more slowly back, unless I am fortunate enough, contrary to expectation, to receive the money, and in that case I shall hurry back with the utmost dispatch.

If His Excellency finds it necessary that the money can be had, he has nothing more to do than intimate the same to me; when I shall return back from any place that an express can meet me with his Order's. My Compts. attds. Morris, Shirley,<sup>6</sup> and other Friends of our Party in Camp. I am, etc.

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6. Cpts. Roger Morris and William Shirley, both aides to Braddock. Morris was born in England; he married Mary Philipse, of Philipse Manor, New York, in 1758, and built the Roger Morris house, later known as the Jumel Mansion. Shirley was the son of Gov. William Shirley, of Massachusetts.

**\*[To ROBERT ORME]**

Friday Noon [Williamsburg, May 23, 1755.]

Dear Sir: Since writg. from Claybourn's Ferry<sup>7</sup> by the late express, I arriv'd at this place and met Mr. Belfour, who, I believe, will be able, with the assistance of the Govt. and some other of his Friends, to procure the money against the morning; which will enable me to set out and I hope to get to Winchester by Tuesday Night next; from whence I shall proceed to the Camp with all possible dispatch.

As Colo. Hunter is gone to the Northward I cou'd get no positive answer concerning the further sum of Ten thousand pounds (which he was desir'd to send to Wills Creek) but Mr. Belfour his partner, thinks it may be depended upon. I shall, before I leave Town get his answer in writing, and deliver it on my arrival safe. Interim, I am, etc.

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7. Claibornes Ferry, in New Kent County, on the main road to Williamsburg.

**\*To JOHN AUGUSTINE WASHINGTON**

Winchester, May 28, 1755.

Dear Jack: I came to this place last Night, and was greatly disappointed at not finding the Cavalry according to promise; I am oblig'd to wait till it does arrive, or till I can procure a Guard from the Militia, either of which I suppose will detain me two days; as you may, with almost equal success, attempt to raize the Dead to life again, as the force of this County; and that from Wills Creek cannot be expected in less than the forementioned time without they are now upon their March.

The Droughth in this County, if possible, exceeds what we see below; so that, it is very reasonably conjectur'd they won't make Corn to suffice the People; and as for Tobacco, they decline all thoughts of making any.

The Inhabitants of this place abound in News, but as I apprehend it is founded upon as much truth as some I heard in my way down, I think it advisable to forego the recital till a little better authority confirms the report, and then you may expect to have a succinct acct.

I shou'd be glad to hear you live Harmony and good fellowship

with the family at Belvoir, as it is in their power to be very serviceable upon many occassion's to us, as young beginner's. I wou'd advise your visiting often as one step towards it; the rest, if any more is necessary, your own good sense will sufficient dictate; for to that Family I am under many obligations, particularly to the old Gentleman.<sup>8</sup>

Mrs. Fairfax and Mrs. Spearing<sup>9</sup> express'd an inclination to hear whether I liked [ ? ]<sup>10</sup> this place (with my charge safe), you may therefore acquaint them that I met with no other Interruption than the difficulty of gettg. Horses after I found her's for want of Shoes grew lame, I was oblig'd to get a fresh horse every 15 or 20 Miles, which render'd the journey tiresome. I shou'd have receiv'd greater relief

from the fatigues of my journey, and my time wou'd have been spent much more agreeably, had I halted below, rather than at this vile post but I little imagin'd I shou'd have occasion to wait for a Guard who ought to have waited for me; if either must have waited at all.

I have given Colo. Fairfax an Order upon you for £8:17:5 which please to pay, as it is on acct. of a horse w'ch I bought of Neale sometime ago. You will receive, Inclos'd, Bowce's receipt for Harry; and I shou'd be glad, if you have any oppertunity, that you wou'd demand my Bond which I had given, and cou'd not receive at [ ? ]<sup>11</sup> of the money; this receipt you may put into my receipt draw. My Compliments attend my Friends who I wish health and happiness to, very sincerely; I am Dear Jack, your most Affectionate

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8. Hon. William Fairfax.

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9. Mrs. Ann Spearing, one of the signers of the well-known, sprightly letter of welcome that went from Belvoir to Washington on his return from the Monongahela.

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10. Thirty years later the change was made to "express'd a wish to be informed of the time and manner of my reaching this place."

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11. The later change was "at the time I paid the money."

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Brother

P.S. As I undersand your County is to be divided, and that Mr. Alexander intends to decline serving it, I shou'd be glad if you cou'd fish at Colo. Fairfax's Intentions, and let me know whether he purposes to offer himself a Candidate; If he does not I shou'd be glad to stand a poll, if I thought my chance tolerably good. Majr. Carlyle mention'd it to me in Williamsburg in a bantering way and asked how I shou'd like to go, saying at the same time, he did not know but they might send me when I knew nothing of the matter, for one or t'other of the Counties. I must own I shou'd like to go for either in that manner, but more particularly for Fairfax, as I am a resident there.

I shou'd be glad if you cou'd discover Major Carlyles real sentim'ts also those of Mr. Dalton, Ramsay, Mason,<sup>12</sup> &c. w'ch I hope and think you may with't disclosing much of mine; as I know y'r own good sense can furnish you with means enough without letting it proceed immediately from me. If you do any thing in this pray let me know by the first oppertunity how you have succeeded in it; and how those Gentlemen stand affected; if they seem inclinable to promote my Interest, and things

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12. John Dalton, William Ramsay, and Thomson (?) Mason, of Fairfax.

shou'd be drawing to a crisis you then may declare my Intentions and beg their assistance. If on the Contrary you find them more inclin'd to favour some other, I w'd have the Affair entirely dropped.

Parson Green's and Captn. McCarty's<sup>13</sup> Interests in this wou'd be of Consequence; and I shou'd be glad if you cou'd sound their Pulse upon the occasion; Conduct the whole till you are satisfied of the Sentim'ts of those I have mention'd, with an air of Indifference and unconcern; after that you may regulate your conduct accordingly. Captn. West<sup>14</sup> the present Burgess, and our Friend Jack West, cou'd also be serviceable if they had a mind to assist the Interest of Dear Jack Your loving Brother.<sup>15</sup>

**\*To WILLIAM FAIRFAX**

Camp at Wills Creek, June 7, 1755.

Honble. Sir: I arriv'd with my charge safe in Camp the 30th. of last Month, after waiting a Day and a piece in Winchester expecting the

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13. Rev. Charles Green, minister of Truro Parish, and Capt. Daniel McCarty, who lived near Pohick.

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14. Capt. John West, who was with Washington at Great Meadows and had succeeded to his brother Hugh West's seat in the House of Burgesses when Hugh died in 1754. Jack West was John West, jr.

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15. A further bit of information as to this Fairfax election is furnished by Adam Stephen's letter of December 23: "Such a spirit to revenge and indignation prevaild here, upon hearing you were insulted at the Fairfax election, that we were all ready and violent to run and tear your enemies to pieces...it would have been far better to have acquainted me with your intention of standing candidate for Frederick, my acquaintance there is very general...that with a weeks notice...you would have gone unanimously, in the mean time I think your poll was not despicable as the people were a stranger to your purpose, untill the election began." The election was held December 11, and a poll list, in Washington's writing, in the Washington Papers, does not mention his own name but gives those who voted for Capt. John West, who was elected with 252 votes, Col. George William Fairfax, 222 votes, and William Elzey, 224. There is also an undated poll list for Frederick County, in the *Washington Papers* (but not in Washington's writing), which gives the result of the vote as Hugh West, 271; Thomas Swearingen, 270; and Washington, 40.



Calvalry to Escort me up; in which I was Disappointed, and oblig'd to make use of a small Guard of the Militia of Frederick.

The General, by frequent breaches of Contracts, has lost all degree of patience; and for want of that consideration and moderation which shou'd be used by a Man of Sense upon these occassion's, will I fear, represent us [?] <sup>19</sup> in a light we little deserve; for instead of blameing the Individuals as he ought, he charges all his Disappointments to a publick Supineness; and looks upon the Country, I believe, as void of both Honour and Honesty; we have frequent disputes on this head, which are maintained with warmth on both sides, especially on his, who is incapable of Arguing with't; or giving up any point he asserts, let it be ever so incompatible with Reason. <sup>20</sup>

There is a Line of Communication to be open'd from Pensylvania to the French Fort Duquisne, along w'ch we are to receive, after a little time, all our Convoys of Provisions, &c.; and to give all manner of encouragement to a People who ought rather to be chastis'd for their insensibility of their own danger, and disobedience of their Sovereign's expectation. They are to be the choosen people because they have furnished what their absolute Interest alone induced them to do, that is 150 Waggon's, and an Equivalent number of horses. <sup>21</sup>

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19. One word erased.

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20. The governors of the different colonies had promised much, but performed little; and the large deposits of supplies supposed to exist were soon found wanting, or in places where they could be of no service, and no means at hand to transport them to the army. It was at one of these crises that Franklin rendered such efficient aid. (See Franklin's *Works* (Bigelow edition), vol. 2, p. 419.) For 200 miles the troops marched with only salt provisions, and the general was forced to offer large rewards to such as would bring to the camp provisions, paying a higher price than was usual for whatever could be obtained. In one case some salted beef was condemned on its arrival in camp as unfit for food. The horses were stolen almost as fast as they could be obtained. The contractors failed to supply what they had contracted for, and Cresap lost his position as commissary through his gross negligence. On the other hand, General Braddock did not hesitate to enlist and take away servants and impress wagons, horses, teamsters, and even carriages and carriage horses.— *Ford*.

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21. These remarks are applied to the Pennsylvanians, who were singularly backward in rendering any aids for the public service. The merit of procuring the wagons and horses, here mentioned,

was wholly due to Franklin, and not to any agency or intention of the assembly. Being at that time postmaster general in the Colonies, he visited General Braddock at Frederick Town for the purpose of maturing a plan for transmitting dispatches between the general and the governors. Becoming acquainted with the obstacles which opposed the progress of the army, he stipulated with General Braddock to furnish within a given time 150 wagons and a proportionable number of horses, for which a specified sum was to be allowed. He immediately returned to York and Lancaster, sent out an advertisement among the farmers, and in two weeks all the wagons and horses were in readiness at Wills Creek. He gave his personal security that the compensation agreed on should be duly paid according to contract.— *Sparks*.

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22. Two paragraphs omitted here are nearly a verbatim repetition of what Washington wrote to John Augustine Washington, June 7, *post*.

General Innis has accepted of a Commission to be Governour of Cumberland Fort, where he is to reside, and will shortly receive another to be hangman, or something of that kind.

By a Letter from Governor Morris we have advice, that a party of three hund'd Men pass'd Oswego on their way to Fort Duquisne, and that another and larger Detachment was expected to pass that place every moment. By the Publick accts. from Pennsylvania we are assur'd that 900 Men has certainly pass'd Oswego, to reinforce the French on Ohio, so that from the accts. we have reason to believe we shall have more to do than go up the Hills to come Down again.

We are impatient to hear what the power's at home are doing; whether Peace or war is like to be the event of all these Preparations. I am Honble. Sir etc.

**\*To GEORGE WILLIAM FAIRFAX**

Camp at Wills Creek, June 7, 1755.

Sir: I had not the pleasure of receiving your favour till after my return from Williamsburg, when it was not in my power to be so serviceable in the affair of your Horses, as I cou'd wish; for they were sent out with a Detachment of 500 Men a few days before. I made immediate enquiry, and application for them; and believe I shall be able, notwithstanding our g't want of Horses, to procure their liberty when we come up with the Detachment; but when that will be, or in what order you may receive them, I can't absolutely say; for we are inform'd, they have kill'd some of their Horses outright, and disabled others, for which Reason I think it wou'd be too great to expect your's will

escape the calamitys that befall those of other's: They are apprais'd (as I saw by one of the Waggon-Master's Books') to £16 the two; which with your Servant Simpson, is all that I can understand is here, belonging to you.

As I have taken this oppertunity of writing to Colo. Fairfax, and being just at this time a good deal hurried, which prevents me from enlargeing so fully as I otherwise wou'd, I shall beg to refer you to him for what little News is stirring in the Camp: please to make my Compliments to all Friends who think me worthy of their enquirys. I am etc.

**\* To MRS. MARY WASHINGTON**

Camp at Wills Creek, June 7, 1755.

Honour'd Madam: I was favour'd with yours by Mr. Dick, and am sorry it is not in my power to provide you with either a Dutch man, or the Butter as you desire, for we are quite out of that part of the Country where either are to be had, as there

are few or no Inhabitants where we now lie Encamp'd, and butter cannot be had here to supply the wants of the Camp.

I was sorry it was not in my power to call upon you as I went to, or came from Williamsburg to'ther Day, which I shou'd have done if the business I went upon, which was for money, wou'd have suffer'd me to have made an hour's delay.

I hope you will spend the chief part of your time at Mount Vernon as you say, where I am certain everything will be order'd as much for your satisfaction as possible, in the Situation we are in.

There is a Detachment of 500 Men March'd from this towards the Aligany, to prepare the Roads &c. and it is imagin'd the main body will move now in abt. 5 days time.

As nothing else that is remarkable, occur's to me, I shall conclude, after begging my love and Compliments to all Friends Dear Madam Yr. Most Affect. and Dutiful Son

**\*To MAJOR JOHN CARLYLE**

Fort Cumberland, June 7, 1755.

Dear Sir: I take this opportunity, as it is the last I can expect before we leave this place, of enquiring after your health, which I hope is greatly amended since I saw you in Williamsburg. I have not time, as we are now very much hurried, to communicate very particularly the little News that is stirring in the Camp; from whence, before I arriv'd, was Detach'd a body of 500 Men under the Command of Major Chapman and the Quarter-master General, who are to prepare the Roads and lay a Deposit of Provision's at the Little Meadows; where they are to Erect some kind of Defensive Work to secure our convoys. To morrow Sir Peter Halkett with the first Brigade March off and abt. the Monday following the Genl. and the 2d. will move from hence. We have no certain accts. of the French on Ohio; but have advises by Letter from Governor Morris that a Body of three hund'd past Oswego, and that a still larger body was hourly expected; so that I apprehend we shall not take possession of Fort Duquisne so quietly as was imagin'd.

The Inclos'd is to my good Friend

Mrs. Carlyle, who I hope will not suffer our former correspondance to drop; my Sincere wishes and Compliments attends all enquiring Friends: and I am, etc.

**\*To MRS. JOHN CARLYLE**

Camp at Wills Creek, June 7, 1755.

Dear Madam: As I have no higher expectation in view than an intimate Correspondance with my Friends, I hope in that I shall not be disappointed; especially by you and Mrs. Fairfax, who was pleas'd (tho' seldom) to honour me with your's last time a year.

I arriv'd here in tolerable health tho something fatigued with the Journey; and found Sir Jno. St. Clair was Detach'd with 500 Men to amend the Roads, that the main body might pass with the greater ease who I suppose will be all in motion by

Tuesday next.

Please to make my Compliments agreeable to Mrs. Spearing who has my most sincere and hearty wishes for every thing her heart can desire. I am Dear Madam etc.

**To MRS. GEORGE WILLIAM FAIRFAX**

Fort Cumberland at Willes Creek, June 7, 1755.

Dear Madam: When I had the pleasure to see you last, you express'd an Inclination to be informed of my safe arrival at Camp with the charge that was entrusted to my care; but at the same time desir'd it might be communicated in a Letter to some body of your acquaintance. This I took as a Gentle rebuke and polite manner of forbidding me corresponding with you and conceive this opinion is not illy founded when I sifted it thus. I have hither to found it impracticable to engage one moment of your attention. If I am right in this I hope you will excuse my present presumption and lay the imputation to lateness at my successful arrival. If on the contrary these are fearfull apprehensions only,

how easy is it to remove my suspicion, enliven my [ ? ],<sup>23</sup> and make me happier than the Day is long, by honouring me with a corrisondance which you did once partly promise.

Please to make my Complts. to Miss Hannah,<sup>24</sup><sup>25</sup> and to Mr. Bryan to whom I shall do myself the pleasr. of writing so soon as I hear he is return'd from Westmoreland.

I am Madam Your most Obedt. etc.

**\*To JOHN AUGUSTINE WASHINGTON**

Camp at Will's Creek, June 7, 1755.

Dear Jack: As much hurried as I am at present, I can't think of leaving this place without writing to you; tho' I have no time to be particular. I was Escorted by 8 Men of the Militia from Winchester to this place; which 8 Men were 2 Days assembling; but I believe they wou'd not have been more than as many seconds dispersing if I had been attacked. Upon arrival here, I found Sir Jno. St. Clair<sup>26</sup><sup>27</sup> with a body of 500 Men were March'd to prepare the Roads, lay a deposit of Provisions at the little Meadows, and to erect some kind of defensive work there.

To morrow Sir Peter with the first Brigade, begin their March, and

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23. Indecipherable; the later change was "dull hours," which appears to be what was written in 1755, but will the addition of an extra word or two.

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24. Hannah Fairfax. She later became the second wife of Warner Washington, first cousin to George.

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25. Bryan Fairfax, who became the eighth Lord Fairfax. He was a half brother of George William Fairfax, and was four years younger than George Washington. A lieutenant in the Virginia Regiment, he experienced a religious conviction which later carried him into the ministry. He lived with his first wife, Elizabeth Caty, daughter of Col. Wilson Cary, of Ceelys, at Towlston Grange in the vicinity of Difficult Run, Fairfax County. In 1778 he attempted to bring about peace between the States and Great Britain, but failed and, finding he could not conscientiously take the British oath, returned to Virginia and died there. He lived long after the close of the Revolution and helped organize the Episcopal Church in Virginia after the war. His first wife died in 1778, and he married Jane, daughter of John Donaldson, of Fairfax, in 1780. The latter part of his life was spent at Mount Eagle, which he built near Alexandria.

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26. St. Clair commanded a regiment and was Braddock's quartermaster general; he was wounded at the Monongahela.

on Monday the General and the 2d. will follow. We have no certain acct. from the Ohio: but have advices from Philadelphia that a body of 300 F. pass'd Oswego on their way to Fort Duquisne, and that a larger Detachment was hourly expected. A Capt'n. of Sir Peter's Regim't with several of the common Soldiers of the different Corps has died since our Incampm't here, and many others are now sick with a kind of bloody Flux. I wrote from Winchester a Letter which I hope you have receiv'd and shou'd be glad of an answer as soon as possible; any Letter's to me, directed to the care of Mr. Cox,<sup>28</sup> at Winchester, will be certain of a conveyance I am Dr. Jack Yr. most Affe. Brother

### **\*MEMORANDUM**

May 30, [1755.]

Upon my return from Williamsburg I found Sir Jno. St. Clair, with Majr. Chapman and a Detachm't of 500 Men were gone on to the Little Meadows in ord'r to prepare the Roads, erect a small Fort, and to lay a Deposit of Provision's there. The 2d. of June Mr. Spindelowe discover'd a communication from Fort Cumberland to the Old Road leadg. to the Aligany with't xing those Enormous Mountains which had prov'd so prijuducial to our Waggon Horses. This intercourse was open'd by the branch of Wills Creek,

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27. Killed at the Monongahela.

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28. William Cooke, Cocks, or Cox, of Winchester, whose house Washington afterwards occupied while in command on the Virginia frontier.

by the 7th. when Sir Peter Halkett with the first Brigade of the Line, began their March, and Incamp'd within a mile of the old Road; which is abt. 5 Miles from the Fort the same day. This Encampment was first called by the Name of the Grove but afterwards altered to that of Spindelowe's Camp.<sup>16</sup>

This day also, Capt'n. Gates's<sup>17</sup> Independant Compy., the remaining Companies of the Provincial Troops, and the whole Park of Artillery, were order'd to hold themselves in readiness to March at an hour's warng. under the Comd. of Lieut. Colo. Burton:<sup>18</sup> which they accordingly did the 9th followg.; but with g't difficulty got up to Sir Peter Halkett's Brigade; the difficulty arising in this March by too gt. a number of Waggon's was the occasion of a Council being called so soon as the General arriv'd (with Colo. Dunbar's Regim't.) the same day; In which Council it was determin'd to retrench the number of Waggon's and increase the pack Loads for Horses; in order thereto, the Officer's were call'd together, and the Genl. represented to them the necessity there was to procure all the Horses it was possible for his Majesty's Service; advis'd them to send back such of thier Baggage as they cou'd do with't and apply the Horses which by that means wou'd become spar'd to carry provisions for the Army, which was accordingly done with great cheerfulness and zeal.

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16. In Maryland.

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17. Horatio Gates, later major general in the Continental Army.

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18. Burton died of wounds received at the Monongahela; he commanded the Forty-eighth Foot.

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### **\*To JOHN AUGUSTINE WASHINGTON**

Camp at George's Creek, June 14, 1755.

Dear Jack: I received your's of the 8th. Instant from Fredericksburg and am sorry to find that Allan is become importunate for a Debt of so short standing; but it is the way of the World, therefore not to be wonder'd at.

I am pleas'd to find you have a prospect of settling that affair with Patrick Kendrick, and shou'd be very glad to hear you entertain'd hopes of discovering my young Mare, as I had conceiv'd high expectation's of her. My negro's Cloathes I hope you will take care to get in time, and employ Cleo's



leisure hour's in mak'g them. I am exceedingly rejoiced that Tobo. is likely to keep up its price, and doubt not but you'll endeavour to make the most of mine, and of every thing else I have entrusted to your care; as you know, and what entire confidence I repose in your managem't.<sup>29</sup>

I receiv'd a Letter yesterday from my Broth'r. Saml. who desires a division of our deep run tract this Fall, which is very agreeable to me and I will abide by any settlement you shall make on my behalf<sup>30</sup>

As I have wrote to you twice since the first Inst I shall only add that the difficulty's arising in our March from havg. a number of Waggon's will, I fear, prove insurmountable unless some scheme can be fallen upon to retrench the Waggon's, and

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29. John Augustine Washington was then managing Mount Vernon for George Washington.

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30. Deep Run land, on the Rappahannock above Fredericksburg, a part of the estate left by Augustine Washington, father of George and Samuel.

increase the no. of Bat Horses which is what I recommended at first, and I believe, is now found to be the most salutary means of transporting our Provision's and Stores to Ohio. I am, Dr. Jack, Yr. &c.

P.S. I have been able to procure Townshend Washington a Comn. to be assistant Comy. with pay at 5/ Sterg. pr. Day and Anthony Strother<sup>31</sup> a pair of Colour's in Colo. Dunbar's Regiment.

**\*To SAMUEL WASHINGTON**

Camp, at George's-Creek, June 14, 1755.

Dr. Saml: I received your's of the 27th. of May, and assure you that nothing is more agreeable to me than to have our Deep run Tract divided; nor nothg. is more agreeable than for my Brothr. Jno. to act on my behalf, whose conduct in the affair I shall abide by: so that you have nothing more to do but consult with him about the time, and endeavour to get it done upon as cheap terms as possible.

I am excessively hurried, therefore have not time to be particular in informing you of the occurencies that have, or may happen; we have got thus far, and shall continue on to Fort Duquisne; where, I hope the dispute will soon be decided, and then I shall be able to give you a more particular acct. pray make my Compts. to my Sis

31. Anthony Strother, sr., one of the witnesses of Augustine Washington's will, acknowledged this appointment in a letter of July 9, 1755, which is in the *Washington Papers*. Strother's daughter Sarah became the grandmother of President Zachary Taylor.

ter and to Colo. Champes<sup>32</sup> Family

I am Dr. Saml. Yr. &c.

**\*To JOHN AUGUSTINE WASHINGTON**

Gt. Xing. on the Yaugh., June 28, 1755.

Dear Jack: Immediately upon our leav'g the C. at George's Cr'k the 14th Inst. (from wh'e I wrote to you) I was seiz'd with viol't Fevers and Pns. in my h'd w'ch con'd w'out the l't. Intermisn. till the 23 foll'g when I was reliev'd by the Genls. absol'y ordering the Phy'ns to give me Doctr. Ja's Powder, w'ch is the most excel't mede. in the W'd for it gave me immed. ease, and removed my Fev'rs and other comp'ts in 4 Days time.<sup>33</sup> My illness was too violent to suffer me to ride, therefore I was indebted to a cover'd Waggon for some part of my Transp'n; but even in this I c'd not cont'e for the jolt'g was so g't that I was left upon the Road with a Guard and necess'rys, to wait the Arr'l of Colo. Dunbar's Detach. wh'h was 2 days M. behind. The Genl. giving me his w'd of hon'r that I sh'd be brought up before he reach'd the French Fort; this promise, and the Doct'rs threats that if I persever'd

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32. Col. John Champe, of King George County.

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33. From June 17 to July 8 Washington was kept in the rear of the army by this illness. Robert James was a schoolfellow of Samuel Johnson and author of a medicinal dictionary in three folio volumes. "I never thought well of Dr James's compounded medicines," was Johnson's opinion. These famous fever powders were sold by Newbury, Goldsmith's publisher.

it wou'd endanger my Life, determin'd my halting for the above Detach't.

As I expect the Comn. bet'n this and Wills Ck. will soon be too dangerous for single persons to pass, it will possibly stop the interc'e of Letters in any measure; therefore I shall attempt (and will go through if I have strength) to give you an acct. of my proceedings, of our situation, and of our prospects at present; which I desire you may com'e to Colo. Fairfax, and my Corrsp'ds, for I am too weak to write more than this Letter. In the L'r wh'ch I wrote fr'm Georges C'k, I acq'd you that unless

the numb'r of Wag'ns were retrenched and the carry'g Hs. in cr'd that we never sh'd be able to see Duquisne: this, in 2 Days afterwards (w'ch was abt. the time they got to the little Meadows with some of their F. Waggons and strongest Teams, they themselves were convinced off, for they found that beside the almost impos'y of gett'g the wag'ns along at all; that they had often a rear of 3 or 4 miles of Waggons; and that the Sold'rs Guarding them were so dispersed that if we had been attack'd either in Front, Center, or Rear the part so attack'd must have been cut off and totally dispersed before they cou'd be properly sustained by any other Corps.

At the little Mead'ws there was a 2d. Council call'd, for there had been one before wherein it was represented to all the Off'rs of the diff't Corps the gr. necessity there was for Hs. and how laudable it wd. be to retrench their

Baggage and offer the spare Hs. for the Publick Service. In order to encourage this I gave up my best Horse, (w'ch I have nev'r h'd of since) and took no more baggage than half my Portmanteau w'd easily cont'n. It was also sd. that the numb'r were to be lessen'd;<sup>34</sup> but there was only from 210 or 12, to 200 w'ch had no perceivable difference.

The Genl. before they met in Council ask'd my priv'e Opin'n concern'g the Exp'n. I urg'd it in the warmest terms I was Master off, to push on; if we even did it with a chos'n Detacht. for that purpose, with the Artillery and such other things as were absolutely necessary; leav'g the baggage and other Con voys with the Remainder of the Army, to follow by slow and regular Marches, which they might do safely, while we were advanced in Front. As one Reason to support this Opinion, I inform'd the [Genl.] if we c'd cred't our Intelligence, the French were weak at the Forks but hourly expect'd reinf'ts, w'ch to my certain knowledge cou'd not arrive with Pro'vns or any Supplies dur'g the continuance of the Droughth as the Buffalo River down w'ch is their only comm'n to Venango, must be as Dry as we now f'd the g't xing of the Youghe., w'ch may be pass'd dry shod. This was a Scheme that took, and it was det'd that the Genl. with 1200 chosen Men and Officers of all the differ't Corps, with the following Field Officer's (viz,; Sr. Pet'r Halkett who acts as Brigadier, Lt. Colo. Gage, Lt. C. Burton, and Majr. Sparke, with such a certain number of

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34. Washington clarified this by his 1784–85 correction: "It is said however that the numbrs, reduced by this 2d. attempt was only from 210 or 12, to 200."

Waggons as the Train w'd absolutely require, shou'd March as soon as things cou'd be got in readiness for them, which was compleated, and we on our March by the 19th, leav'g Colo. Dunbar and Majr. Chapman, with the residue of the two Reg's, Companys most of the women and in short

every thing behind except such Provision's and other necessary's as we took and carried upon Horses.

We set out with less than 30 Carriages (Incl'g all those that transported the Howetzers, 12 prs. and 6 p'rs., etc.), and all of those strongly Horsed; which was a prospect that convey'd the most infinite delight to me tho' I was excessively ill at the time. But this prospect was soon over turn'd and all my sanguine hopes brought very low when I found, that instead of pushing on with vigour, without regarding a little rough Road, they were halting to level every Mold Hill, and to erect Bridges over every Brook; by which means we were 4 Days gett'g 12 Miles; where I was left by the Doct'r's Advice and the Gen'l's absolute Orders, otherwise I wou'd not have been prevailed upon to remain behind my own Detach't as I then imagin'd, and believ'd I shall now find it not very easy to join my own Corps again, which is 25 Miles advance'd before us; tho' I had the Genls. word of Hon'r pledg'd in the most solemn manner, that I sh'd be b't up before he arrived at Duquisne. They have had fre

quent Alarms, and several Men scalp'd; but this is only done to retard the March, and to harass the Men if they are to be turn'd out every time a small party of them attack the Guards at Night; (for I am certain, they have not sufficient strength to make head against the whole.

I have been now 6 Days with Colo. Dunbar's Corps, who are in a miserable Condition for want of Horses, not hav'g more one half enough for their Wag'ns; so that the only method he has of proceedings, is to March on himself with as many Waggons as those will draw, and then Halt till the Remainder are brought up which requires two Days more; and I believe shortly he will not be able to stir at all; but there has been vile management in regard to Horses and while I am mention'g this, I must not forget to desire, that you'll acq't Colo. G. Fx. that I have made the most strick enquiry after his Man and Horses, but can hear nothing of either; at least nothing that can be credited. I was told that the Fellow was taken ill upon the Road while he was with Sr. Jno. St. Clair's Detacht. the certainty of this I can't answer for, but I believe there is nothing more cert'n than that he is not with any part of the Army. And unless the Horses stray and make home themselves, I believe there is 1000 to 1 against his ever seeing them again: for I gave up a horse only one Day, and never cou'd see or hear of him afterwards: My strength wont admit me to say more, tho' I have not said half what I intended

con'g our Aff'rs here. Business, I shall not think of, but dep'd solely upon your man't. of all my aff'rs, and doubt not but that they will be well conducted. You may thank my f'ds for the Lett'rs I have rec'd w'ch has not been one from any Mortal since I left Fairfax, except yourself and Mr. Dalton. It is a piece of regard and kindness which I sh'd end'r to acknow'e was I able and suffer'd to write. All your Letters to me I w'd have you send to Mr. Cocks of Winchester or to Govr. Innis at Fort Cumberland,

and then you may be cert'n of their com'g safe to hand otherwise I can't say as much. Make my Complim'ts to all who think me worthy of their Enquirys.

P.S. July 2d. A Great Misfortune has attended me in my sickness was, the looseing the use of my Servant, for poor Jno.<sup>35</sup> was taken abt. the same time that I was, with near the same disorder; and was confin'd as long; so that we did not see each other for several Days. he is also tolerably well recover'd. We are sure advan'd almost as far as the g't Meadows; and I shall set out to morrow morning for my own Corps, with an Escort

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35. John Alton.

of 100 Men which is to guard some Provision's up; so that my Fears and doubts on that head are quite remov'd. I had a Letter yesterday from Orme, who writes me word that they have pass'd the Youghyangane for the last time, that they have sent out Partys to scour the Country thereabouts and have Reason to believe that the French are greatly alarm'd at their approach.

**\*To ROBERT ORME**

Great Crossing, June 30, 1755.

Dear Orme: I came to this Camp on thursday last, with the Rear of Colo. Dunbar's Detach't and shou'd have continued on with his Front, to day, but was prevented by Rain.

My Fevers are very moderate, and I hope are near a Crisis; when I shall have nothing to encounter but excessive weakness, and the difficulty in getting to you; which I wou'd not fail in doing ere you reach Duquisne, for 500£, but I have no doubt of doing this, as the General has given me his word and honour, in the most solemn manner.

As the Doct'r thinks it imprudent for me to use much exercise for 2 or 3 days, it will prevent my coming up; therefore, I shou'd be glad to be advised of your Marches from Gist's, and how you are

likely to get on, for you may rest asusred that Colo. Dunbar cannot get from his present Incampment<sup>36</sup> in less than two or three Days; and I believe really, it will be as much as he possibly can do to reach the Meadows at all; so that you will be greatly advanc'd before us. I am too weak to add more than my Comp'ts to the Genl., Family, &c. and again to desire that you will oblige me in the above request, and advise the most effectual means for me to join you, I am Dr. Orme, etc.

**\*To COLONEL JAMES INNES**

Camp between the Gt. xing and Meadows, July 2, 1755.

Dear Sir: I shou'd take it infinitely kind, if you w'd be good enough to dispatch, by the first safe opportunity, after they come to hand, any Letters that you may receive either to, or from me; for I have been greatly surprised at not receiving any Letter's from my Friends since I came out; and must impute it to miscarriage, somewhere, for, I am certain it cannot be owing to their not writing.

I have been excessively ill, but am now recovering from violent Fevers and Pains, of w'ch my disorder consisted.

The Doctor's forbid me writing as very injurious to my

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36. Colonel Dunbar had advanced 7 miles beyond the Great Meadows, which was the position of his camp at the time of the action. Here he remained till he was met by General Braddock and his flying troops after the defeat at the Monongahela, when he destroyed his baggage and speedily retreated with the whole army to Fort Cumberland.— *Sparks*.

health; therefore I cannot have the pleasure of giving you a particular acct. of our situation, &c. but I shall refer you to Mr. Caton, who has had an opportunity of seeing the whole. I am etc.

**\*MEMORANDUM**

[July 9, 1755.]

The 8th of July I rejoined (in a covered Waggon) the advanced division of the Army under the immediate Com'd of the General. On the 9th I attended him on horse back tho' very weak and low. On this day he was attacked and defeated by a party of French and Indians adjudged not to exceed 300. When all hope of rallying the dismayed troops and recovering the ground, our provisions and stores being given up I was ordered to Dunbar's Camp.<sup>37</sup>

**\*To COLONEL JAMES INNES<sup>38</sup>**

Little Meadows, July 15, 1755.

Sir: Captn. Orme being confined to his Litter and not well able to write, has desir'd me to acknowledge the receipt of your's; He begs the favour of you to have the room that the Gen'l. lodg'd in prepar'd for Colo. Burton, himself, and Capt. Morris, who are all wounded; also, that some small place may be had where convenient for Cooking; and, that if any fresh Provn. and other suitable necessarys for persons in their infirm condition, may be had, that you will be kind enough to engage it.

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37. This note was added by Washington to the 1755 "Letter Book" in 1785.

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38. General Braddock had left Colonel Innes with the command at Wills Creek, under the title of Governor of Fort Cumberland.— *Sparks*.

He also begs, that, you will order the present w'ch was sent by Governour Morris to the Genl. and his Family, into the care of Mr. A. le Roy, the Steward, who is sent on for that, and other purposes. The Horses, that carry the wounded Gent'n. in Litters are so much fatigued that we dread their performance, therefore, it is desir'd that you will be kind enough to send out 8 or 10 fresh horses for their relief, which will enable us to reach the Fort this Evening. I doubt not but you have had an acot. of the poor Genl.'s death by some of the affrighted Waggoners, who ran off without taking leave. I am, etc. Sir,

**\*To MRS. MARY WASHINGTON**

[Fort Cumberland, July 18, 1755.]

Honour'd Mad'm: As I doubt not but you have heard of our defeat, and perhaps have it represented in a worse light (if possible) than it deserves; I have taken this earliest opportunity to give you some acct. of the Engagement, as it happen'd within 7 miles of the French Fort, on Wednesday the 9th. Inst.

We March'd on to that place with't any considerable loss, having only now and

then a stragler pick'd up by the French Scoutg. Ind'nd. When we came there, we were attack'd by a Body of French and Indns. whose number, (I am certain) did not exceed 300 Men; our's consisted of abt. 1,300 well arm'd Troops; chiefly of the English Soldiers, who were struck with such a panick, that they behav'd with more cowardice than it is possible to conceive; The Officers behav'd Gallantly

in order to encourage their Men, for which they suffer'd greatly; there being near 60 kill'd and wounded; a large proportion out of the number we had! The Virginia Troops shew'd a good deal of Bravery, and were near all kill'd; for I believe out of 3 Companys that were there, there is scarce 30 Men left alive; Capt. Peyrouny and all his Officer's down to a Corporal was kill'd; Capt. Polson shar'd near as hard a Fate; for only one of his was left: In short the dastardly behaviour of those they call regular's expos'd all others that were inclin'd to do their duty to almost certain death; and at last, in dispiht of all the efforts of the Officer's to the Contrary, they broke and run as Sheep pursued by dogs; and it was impossible to rally them.

The Genl. was wounded; of w'ch he died 3 Days after; Sir Peter Halket was kill'd in the Field where died many other brave Officer's; I luckily escap'd with't a wound, tho' I had four Bullets through my Coat, and two Horses shot under me; Captns. Orme and Morris two of the Genls. Aids de Camp, were wounded early in the Engagem't. which render'd the duty hard upon me, as I was the only person then left to distribute the Genl's. Orders which I was scarcely able to do, as I was not half recover'd from a violent illness, that confin'd me to my Bed,

and a Waggon, for above 10 Days; I am still in a weak and Feeble cond'n; which induces me to halt here, 2 or 3 Days in hopes of recov'g. a little Strength, to enable me to proceed homewards; from whence, I fear I shall not be able to stir till towards Sept., so that I shall not have the pleasure of seeing you till then, unless it be in Fairfax; please to give my love to Mr. Lewis and my Sister,<sup>42</sup> and Compts. to Mr. Jackson<sup>43</sup> and all other Fds. that enquire after me. I am, Hon'd Madam Yr. most dutiful Son

P.S. You may acqt. Priscilla Mullican that her Son Charles is very well, hav'g only rec'd a slight w'd in his Foot, w'ch will be cur'd with't detrimt. to him, in a very small time.

We had abt. 300 Men kill'd and as many, and more, wounded.

**\*To ROBERT DINWIDDIE**

Fort Cumberland, July 18, 1755.

Honbl. Sir: As I am favour'd with an oppertunity, I shou'd think myself in excusable ? was I to omit giv'g you some acct. of our

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42. Fielding Lewis, who married Elizabeth (Betty) Washington.



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43. Probably Robert Jackson, one of the witnesses to Augustine Washington's will.

late Engagem't with the French on the Monongahela the 9th. Inst.

We continued our March from Fort Cumberland to Frazier's (which is within 7 Miles of Duquisne) with't meet'g with any extraordinary event, hav'g only a stragler or two picked up by the French Indians. When we came to this place, we were attack'd (very unexpectedly I must own) by abt. 300 French and Ind'ns; Our numbers consisted of abt. 1300 well arm'd Men, chiefly Regular's, who were immediately struck with such a deadly Panick, that nothing but confusion and disobedience of order's prevail'd amongst them: The Officer's in gen'l behav'd with incomparable bravery, for which they greatly suffer'd, there being near 60 kill'd and wound'd. A large proportion, out of the number we had! The Virginian Companies behav'd like Men and died like Soldiers; for I believe out of the 3 Companys that were there that day, scarce 30 were left alive: Captn. Peyrouny and all his Officer's, down to a Corporal, were kill'd; Captn. Polson shar'd almost as hard a Fate, for only one of his Escap'd: In short the dastardly behaviour of the English Soldier's expos'd all those who were inclin'd to do their duty to almost certain Death; and at length, in despt of every effort to the contrary, broke and run as Sheep before the Hounds, leav'g the Artillery, Ammunition, Provisions, and, every individual thing we had with us a prey to the Enemy; and when we endeavour'd to rally them in hopes of regaining our invaluable loss, it was with as much success as if we had attempted to have stop'd the wild Bears of the Mountains.<sup>39</sup>

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39. "Fearful of an unpursuing foe, all the ammunition, and so much of the provisions were destroyed for accelerating their flight, that Dunbar was actually obliged to send for thirty horse loads of the latter before he reached Fort Cumberland, where he arrived a very few days after, with the shattered remains of the English troops."— *Review of the Military Operations in North America*.

The Genl. was wounded behind in the shoulder, and into the Breast, of w'ch he died three days after; his two Aids de Camp were both wounded, but are in a fair way of Recovery; Colo. Burton and Sir Jno. St. Clair are also wounded, and I hope will get over it; Sir Peter Halket, with many other brave Officers were kill'd in the Field. I luckily escap'd with't a wound tho' I had four Bullets through my Coat and two Horses shot under me. It is suppose that we left 300 or more dead in the Field; about that number we brought of wounded; and it is imagin'd (I believe with great justice too) that two thirds of both [ ? ]<sup>40</sup> received their shott from our own cowardly English Soldier's who gather'd themselves into a body contrary to orders 10 or 12 deep, wou'd then level, Fire and shoot down the Men before them.

I tremble at the consequences that this defeat may have upon our back settlers, who I suppose will all leave their habitations unless there are proper measures taken for their security.

Colo. Dunbar, who commands at present, intends so soon as his Men are recruited at this place, to continue his March to Phila. into Winter Quarters:<sup>41</sup> so that there will be no Men left here unless it is the poor remains of the Virginia Troops, who survive and will be too small to guard our Frontiers. As Captn. Orme is writg. to your honour I doubt not but he will give you a circumstantial acct. of all things,

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40. Two words obliterated.

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41. The regulars laid the responsibility of defeat on the provincials, alleging "that they were harassed by duties unequal to their numbers, and dispirited through want of provisions; that time was not allowed them to dress their food; that their water (the only liquor, too, they had) was both scarce and of a bad quality; in fine, that the provincials had disheartened them by repeated suggestions of their fears of a defeat should they be attacked by Indians, in which case the European method of fighting would be entirely unavailing."— *Review of the Military Operations in North America* (1753 to 1756). The *Gentleman's Magazine* asserted these same forces—Irish, Scotch, and English—ran away "shamefully" at Prestonpans. The news of Braddock's defeat "struck a general damp on the spirits of the soldiers" in Shirley's and Pepperell's regiments, and many deserted. "I must leave a proper number in each county to protect it from the combinations of the negro slaves, who have been very audacious on the defeat on the Ohio. These poor creatures imagine the French will give them their freedom."— *Dinwiddie to Earl of Halifax*, July 23, 1755.

Dinwiddie wished Dunbar to remain and make a new attempt on Duquesne; but a council of officers unanimously decided the scheme was impracticable, and on the next day (August 2) began his march toward Philadelphia

which will make it needless for me to add more than that I am, etc.

**\*To JOHN AUGUSTINE WASHINGTON**

Fort Cumberland, July 18, 1755.

Dear Jack: As I have heard since my arriv'l at this place, a circumstantial acct. of my death and dying speech, I take this early oppertunity of contradicting both, and of assuring you that I now exist and

appear in the land of the living by the miraculous care of Providence, that protected me beyond all human expectation; I had 4 Bullets through my Coat, and two Horses shot under me, and yet escaped unhurt.<sup>44</sup>

We have been most scandalously beaten by a trifling body of men; but fatigue and want of time prevents me from giving any of the details till I have the happiness of seeing you at home; which I now most ardently wish for, since we are drove in thus far. A Weak and Feeble state of Health, obliges me to halt here for 2 or 3 days, to recover a little strength, that I may thereby

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44. The 1784–85 change is as follows: “oppertunity of contradicting the first and of assuring you that I have not as yet, composed the latter. But by the all powerful dispensams. of Providence, I have been protected beyond all human probability and expectation for I had 4 Bullets” etc.

be enabled to proceed homewards with more ease; You may expect to see me there on Saturday or Sunday Se'night, which is as soon as I can well be down as I shall take my Bulb skin Plantation's in my way.<sup>45</sup> Pray give my Compl'ts to all my F'ds. I am Dr. Jack, y'r most Affect. Broth'r

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45. He arrived at Mount Vernon on July 26. He still retained the office of adjutant of the northern division of militia, and immediately wrote to the county lieutenants, ordering the militia to be ready and properly equipped in each county on certain days, when he should be present to review and exercise them. Such was the alarm created by the success of the French at Braddock's Defeat that volunteer companies embodied themselves in different parts of Virginia to march to the frontiers. The Rev. Samuel Davies, at that time a clergyman in Hanover County, preached a sermon to one of these companies on August 17, which was printed in Philadelphia and London, and entitled *Religion and Patriotism the Constituents of a Good Soldier*. After applauding the patriotic spirit and military ardor, which had begun to manifest themselves, the preacher adds: “As a remarkable instance of this, I may point out to the public that heroic youth, Colonel Washington, whom I cannot but hope Providence has has hitherto preserved in so signal a manner for some important service to his country.”— *Sparks*.

**\*To BENJAMIN GRYMES<sup>47</sup>**

Mount Vernon, July 31, 1755.

Sir: I don't remember to have receiv'd more than one letter from you, and that I shou'd have answer'd; but knowing that I cou'd give you no satisfactory acct. myself, of your Bed &c., I thought it

more advisable to desire Doctr. Walker<sup>48</sup> to enquire of Mr. Gist,<sup>49</sup> and of Colo. Cresap<sup>50</sup> (at whose Ho. I perfectly remember the great Tent was left) concerning them, and to let you know their answer.

I have since recollected, and think I am very certain, that Vanbraam (who was left out after Gist and I came off on Foot) charged with these and other things, told me that after hav'g most of his Horses tire, he was oblig'd to leave your things, with many of my own, out at Mr. Gists Ho. where they must have been burnt and destroy'd with his Plantation.<sup>51</sup>

If you are going to England I heartily wish you a good Voyage, and the attainment of your utmost desires. I am Sir, etc.

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47. After Grymes returned from England he was elected to the Virginia House of Burgesses.

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48. Dr. Thomas Walker, formerly a major in the British Army, whose daughter was the second wife of Hon. William Fairfax and the mother of George William Fairfax.

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49. Christopher Gist.

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50. Col. Thomas Cresap, one of the famous Colonial frontiersmen.

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51. The tent, bed, and other things which were carried on Washington's journey to Fort Le Bœuf in 1753-54.

### **\*To ROBERT JACKSON**

Mount Vernon, August 2, 1755.

Dr. Sir: I must acknowledge you had great reason to be terrified with the first acc'ts, that was given of our unhappy defeat, and I must own, I was not a little surpris'd to find that Governor Innis was the means of alarming the Country with a report of that extraordinary nature, without having any better confirmation of the truth, than an affrighted waggoner's story. Its true, we have been beaten, most shamefully beaten, by a handful of Men ! who only intended to molest and disturb our March; Victory was their smallest expectation, but see the wondrous works of Providence! the uncertainty of Human things! We, but a few moments before, believ'd our number's almost equal to the Canadian Force; they only expected to annoy us. Yet, contrary to all expectation and human probability, and even to the common course of things, we were totally defeated, sustain'd the loss of every thing; which they have got, are enrichen'd and strengthened by it. This, as you observe,

must be an affecting story to the Colony; and will, no doubt, license the tongues of People to censure those they think most blamably; which by the by, often falls very wrongfully. I join very heartily with you in believing that when this story comes to be related in future Annals, it will meet with ridicule or in

dignation; for had I not been witness to the fact on that fatal Day, I sh'd scarce give credit to it now.

Whenever it suits you to come into Fairfax I hope you will make your home at Mount Vernon. Please to give my Compts. to all inquiring Friends; and I assure you, nothing cou'd have added greater satisfaction to my safe return, than hearing of the friendly concern that was express'd on my suppos'd Death. I am, &c.

**\*To AUGUSTINE WASHINGTON<sup>52</sup>**

Mount Vernon, August 2, 1755.

Dear Brother: The pleasure of your Company at Mount Vernon always did, and always will, afford me infinite satisfaction; but at this time, I am *too* truly sensible how needful the Country is of the assistance of all its members, to desire to hear that any are absent.<sup>53</sup> I most sincerely wish that harmony and unanimity may prevail amongst you, and that a happy issue may attend your prudent resolutions.

I am not able were I ever so willing, to meet you in Town, for I assure you it is with some difficulty and with fatigue that I visit my Plantation's in the Neck, so much has a sickness of five weeks' continuance reduced me: But tho it is not in my power to meet you there, I can never

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52. Augustine Washington was half brother to George and full brother to Lawrence; he was then at Williamsburg as a member of the Virginia House of Burgesses.

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53. Absent from the legislature.

theless assure you, and other's (who it may concern to borrow a phrase from Governor Innes) that I am so little dispirited at what has happen'd, that I am always ready and always willing, to do my Country any Services that I am capable off; but never upon the Terms I have done, having suffer'd much in my private fortune, besides impairing one of the best of Constitution's.

I was employ'd to go a journey in the Winter (when I believe few or none wou'd have undertaken it) and what did I get by it? my expenses borne! I then was appointed with trifling Pay to conduct an handful of Men to the Ohio. What did I get by this? Why, after putting myself to a considerable expence in equipping and providing necessarys for the Campaigne I went out, was soundly beaten, lost them all—came in, and had my Commission taken from me or, in other words my Corn'd, reduced, under pretence of an Order from home. I then went out a Volunteer with Genl. Braddock and lost all my Horses and many other things, but this being a voluntary act, I shou'd not have mention'd it, was it not to shew that I have been upon the loosing order ever since I enter'd the Service, which is now near two year's; so that I think I can't be blare'd, shou'd I, if I leave my Family again, end'vt. to do it upon such terms as to prevent my sufferg., (to gain by it, is the least of my expectation).

I doubt not but you have heard the particulars of our shameful defeat, which really was so scandalous that I hate to have it mention'd. You desire to know what Artillery was taken in the late Eng't; it is easily told, we lost all that we carr'd out, save 2 Six pound'rs, and a few Cohorns that were left with Colo. Dunbar; and the Cohorns have since been destroy'd to expedate his flight. You also ask whether I think the Forces can March this Fall. I must answer, I think it impossible, for them to do the French any damage (unless it be by starv'g) for want of a proper Train of Artillery; yet they may be very serviceable in erect'g small Fortresses at convenient places to deposit provisions in, by which the Country will be eas'd of an immense expence in the Carriage, and it will also be a mean's of securing a Retreat if we sh'd be put to the Rout again; the success of this tho' will dep'd gre'tly upon what Gov'r. Shirley does at Niagara, for if he succeeds, their Comn. with Canada will be entirely stop'd.

It is impossible for me to guess at the number of recruits that may be want'g, as that must depend altogeth'r upon the strength of the French on the Ohio, w'ch to my g't. astonishm't we were ever strangers to.

I thank you very heartily for your kind offer of a Chr. and for your goodness in sending my things; and, after begg'g you excuse the imperfect'ns. of the above which in part are owing to hav'g much Comp'y that

hurrys me I shall conclude Dr. Sir, Yr. most Afft. Broth'r.

**\*To EACH COUNTY LIEUTENANT IN THE NORTHERN DISTRICT**

Mount Vernon, August 2, 1755.

Sir: I intend myself the honour of waitg. upon your County, in order to exercise the Militia; and shou'd be glad if you wou'd appoint your Officer's to meet me at the Court Ho., or some other convenient place with a Firelock, Ammunition, &c. on the of September next, and the Militia properly accoutre'd, the day following. I am Sir, etc.

Fairfax Officers 31st 1st. Militia Prince Wm 4 5 Culpeper 8 9 Stafford 12 13 King George 15 16  
Westmoreland 19 20 Richmond 22 23 Northumberland 26 27 Lancaster 29 30 September

**\*To COLIN CAMPBELL**

Mount Vernon, August 2, 1755.

Sir: [The Army und'r the Com'd of G: Braddock has met with an unfortunate defeat, which has occasioned my ret'n]<sup>54</sup> from the Ohio; [This circumstance enables me to order] the Militia of the several Countys in my district, to meet me and I have therefore taken this earliest opportunity of inform'g you of it; that you may not be troubled ab't any but Eastern Shore Countys, unless you will undertake to exercise the whole (saving the two Frontier Countys viz Fairfax and Prince Win. which I will take the trouble off) for the Consideration of 40,£'s if you accept of this offer, I shou'd be glad to know it before the first of Sept. and I have enclos'd you a Mem'm. of the appointed times that I have desit'd the Officer's, and Militia of each County to meet, that you may proceed accordingly. I am Sir, etc.

**\*To MRS. MARY WASHINGTON**

Mount Vernon, August 14, 1755.

Honor'd Madam: If it is in my power to avoid going to the Ohio again, I shall, but if the Command is press'd upon me by the genl. voice of the Country, and offer'd upon such terms as can't

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54. The bracketed portions of this letter are the readings as changed in 1784–85. Washington made the erasures with a knife, and the original wording is completely obliterated.

be objected against, it wou'd reflect eternal dishonour upon me to refuse it; and that, I am sure must, or ought, to give you greater cause of uneasiness than my going in an honourable Com'd.; for

upon no other terms I will accept of it if I do at all; at present I have no proposals or any mention made abt. it only from private hands. I am etc.

**\*To WARNER LEWIS<sup>55</sup>**

Mount Vernon, August 14, 1755.

Dear Sir: After returning the most sincere and grateful thanks for your kind condolence on my late indisposition; and for the too generous, and give me leave further to say, partial opinion you have entertain'd of my ability's; I must express my concern for not having it in my power to meet you, and other Friends, who have signified their desire of seeing me (in Williamsburg). Your Letter only came to hand at nine last Night, and you inform me of the Assembly breaking up the latter end of the Week, which allows a time too short to perform a journey of 160 miles distance particularly by a person in my weak and feeble condition altho' I am happily recover'd from the

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55. Warner Lewis's letter is not in the *Washington Papers* in the Library of Congress; it was inclosed in a letter from Charles Lewis to Washington, which is among those papers, and is printed in S. M. Hamilton's *Letters to Washington* (Boston: 1898), vol. 1, p. 75.

low ebb to w'ch I was reduced by a sickness of near 5 Weeks continuance. Had I got timely notice, I wou'd have attempted the ride by slow and easy journeys, if it had been only for the satisfaction of seeing my Friends, who I flatter myself from what you say, are kind enough to sympathise in my good, and evil Fortunes.

The Chief Reason (next to indisposition) that prev'd me from coming down to this Assembly was a determination not to offer myself, and that determination proceeded from the following Reason's.

1st. a belief that I cou'd not get a command upon such terms as I shou'd care to accept;<sup>56</sup> as I must confess I never will quit my Family, injure my Fortune, and (above all) impair my health to run the risque of such Changes and Vicissitudes as I have done; but shall now expect, if I am employ'd again, to have something certain again, was I to have the command, I shou'd insist upon somethings which ignorance and inexperience made me overlook before, particularly that of having the Officers in some measure appointed *with* my advice, and with my concurrence; for I must say, I think a commanding Officer not hav'g this liberty appear's to me to be one of the strangest thing in Life, when it is well known how much the conduct and bravery of an Officer influences the Men; how much a Commanding Officer is answerable for the behaviour of the inferiour Officer's; and how



much his good or ill success in time of action depends upon the conduct of each particular Officer; especially in this

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56. While Colonel Washington was writing this letter he had already been appointed to the command. The assembly voted £40,000 for the public service, and the governor and council immediately resolved to increase the Virginia Regiment to 16 companies, In the same same act the assembly also granted to George Washington the sum of £300, to the captains £75 each, to the lieutenants and surgeon £30, and to every soldier £5 as "a reward and compensation for their gallant behaviour and losses," at the Monongahela. Washington's grant was for his losses sustained.

"I have granted commissions to raise sixteen companies, to augment our forces to one thousand men, and have incorporated them into a regiment. The command thereof is given to Colonel George Washington, who was one of General Braddock's aids-de-camp, and I think a man of great merit and resolution. Our officers are greatly dispirited for want of his Majesty's commissions, that, when they join the regulars they may have some rank; and I am persuaded it would be of infinite service, if his Majesty would graciously please to honor them with his commissions, the same as General Shirley's and Sir William Pepperell's regiments; and I am convinced, if General Braddock had survived, he would have recommended Mr. Washington to the royal favor, which I beg your interest in recommending."— *Dinwiddie to Sir Thomas Robinson*, Sept. 6, 1755.

Washington's commission from Dinwiddie, dated Aug. 14, 1755, appointed him colonel of the Virginia Regiment and commander in chief of all the forces now raised and to be raised for the defense of his Majesty's colony and for repelling the unjust and hostile invasions of the French and their Indian allies. A peculiar sense of economy inspired Dinwiddie to specially note that Washington's pay commenced September 1. In the instructions accompanying the commission the French are accused of unjustly invading his Majesty's lands on the Ohio; the Virginia Regiment is to consist of 16 companies; goods and presents were to be purchased for the Indians: morality and virtue were to be inculcated among the troops and drunkenness and swearing were to be punished. The text of Washington's commission and instructions are printed in the *Dinwiddie Papers*, vol. 2, pp. 184–187.

kind of Fighting, where being dispers'd, each and every of them at that immediate time, has greater liberty to misbehave than if he were regularly, and compactly drawn up under the Eyes of their superior Officer's. However on the other hand, how little credit is given to a Commander, who perhaps after a defeat, in relating the cause justly lays the blame on some individual whose cowardly behav'r betray'd the whole to ruin; how little does the World consider the Circumstances, and how apt are mankind to level their vindictive Censures against the unfortunate Chief, who perhaps merited least of the blame. Does it not appear then that the appointing of Officers is a thing of the

utmost consequence; a thing that shou'd require the greatest circumspection; ought it to be left to blind chance? or what is still worse, to a forced partiality? Shou'd it not be left to a Man whose powers and what is still dearer, whose honour depends upon their good Examples.

There are necessary Officer's yet wanting, which no Pro, vision have been made for. A small Military Chest is so absolutely necessary, that it is impossible to do without, nor no Man can conduct an affair of this kind who has it not. These things I shou'd expect, was I appointed.

But, besides all these, I had other Reasons wh'h with'd me f'm offering.

I believe our Circumstances are now to that unhappy Dilemma that no Man can gain any Honour by conduct'g our Forces at this time, but rather loose in his reputation; for I am very confid't the progress must be slow for want of conveniences to transport our Provisions &c. over the Mountains and this chiefly occasion'd, by the late ill treatm't of the Waggoner's and Horse driver's, who have rec'd little for their Lab'r and noth'g for their lost Hors's and Wag'ns; w'ch will be an infallible mean's of prevent'g all from assist'g that are not oblig'd; so that I am truly sensible, whoever undertakes it will meet with such insurmountable obstacles that he will be soon look'd upon in the very light of an idle, indolent body, have his conduct censured and perhaps meet with opprobrious abuse, when it is as much out of his power to avoid these delays as to com'd the rag'g Seas in a Storm. Seeing these things in the above light that I did, had no small influence upon me, as I was pretty much assur'd I shou'd loose what at present constitutes the chief part of my happiness, i.e. the esteem and notice the Country has been pleas'd to honour me with.

It is possible you may infer from what I have said that my intention's is to decline at all events, but my meaning is entirely different: I was determin'd not to offer, because to solicit the Command and at

the same time to make my proposals I thought wou'd look a little incongruous, and to carry a face of too much self sufficiency, as if I imagin'd there were none other's equally (if not more) capable of conducting the affair than myself; But if the command shou'd be offer'd the case is then alter'd as I am at liberty to make such objection's as my Reason and my small experience have pointed out. I hope you'll make my Comp's to all inquiring F'ds. I am Dr. Warner Y'r etc.

**\*To CHARLES LEWIS**

Mount Vernon, August 14, 1755.

Dear Sir: I return most unfeigned thanks for your hearty demonstrations of Friendship, in kind congratulation's on my safe return, and I wish dear Charles, it was more in my power than it is to answer the favourable opinion my Friends have conceiv'd of my abilitys, let them not be deceiv'd, I am unequal to the Task, and do assure you it requires more experience than I am master of to conduct an affair of the importance that this is now arisen to.

If I do go, I shou'd think myself happy in havg.

you of our party, if you have reconcil'd it perfectly to yourself and Family, otherwise I think you wou'd be blameable to involve them in so much uneasiness as your absence will necessarily give; I have wrote fully to your Broth'r Wnr. to whom I must refer you for further particular's I am Dr. Charles, etc.

## **GENERAL INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE RECRUITING OFFICERS OF THE VIRGINIA REGIMENT**

[Williamsburg], September [3], 1755.

First; That each Captain shall, by beat of Drum or otherwise, Raise Thirty men; Each Lieutenant Eighteen; and each Ensign, Twelve men.

Secondly: That each Captain shall appoint proper Persons to act as non-commissioned Officers, during their Recruiting Service: But those non-commissioned Officers, so appointed, are not to be confirmed, 'till approved of by me, or a Field Officer for that purpose.

Thirdly: That no Officer shall list any Men under Sixteen, or above Fifty years of age: Nor are they to list men under five feet four Inches high, unless they are well made, strong, and active; then, and in that case, they will be received.

Neither are they to list any men who have old Sores upon their legs, or who are subject to Fits; which will be inspected into by the Surgeons, upon their arrival at Quarters: and such as are found to come under these Articles, will be discharged; and the Officers have no allowance made.

Fourthly: That, when each Recruiting Officer has listed his Complement of Men, he is immediately to repair to the Place of Rendezvouz; which I hope, and expect, will be by the first day of October next: but if in case the whole should not be complete by that time; it is then my Orders, that each Captain shall forthwith send one of his Subalterns with all the Recruits, to the quarters assigned him, and

remain with the other Subaltern to complete his Company, with all imaginable Diligence. There will be a Field Officer to receive, review, and examine the Recruits

that are brought in; who will have power to reject and discharge, such as come under the above Articles.

Fifthly: That, for each Recruit that is passed by such Field Officer, the Officer who Listed him, shall receive two Pistoles, and an allowance of eight-pence per Day for Subsistance, from the day of his attestation, to the day of his being received into the Regiment.

Sixthly: That all Recruits, so soon as they are Listed, are to take the Oaths provided for that purpose; which is to be attested by the Magistrate who administered them.

Their Stature, Complexion, and so forth, is to be taken also, and entered by the Recruiting Officer in a Book kept for that purpose.

Seventhly: That no Officer shall bring in any charge against his Men for Necessaries; Each man *being* to receive full Clothing, on his arrival at the place of Rendezvous.

Lastly: That when you are on the Recruiting Service, and on your March; you are to observe the same good Order and Discipline, as in Camp or in Quarters; and you are to conform yourself, in every respect, to the Rules and Articles of War. Given under my hand etc.

All the Officers then present received the foregoing Instructions, and money for Recruiting; and some of them were appointed to act 'till further Orders, as followeth: Viz. To Captain Spotswoods<sup>57</sup> Company, Lieutenant Lomax<sup>58</sup> and Ensign Garter,<sup>59</sup> were ordered to do Duty as Subalterns: and to Captain Harrison; Lieutenant John. Hall; Ensign Nathaniel Thompson. To Captain Lewis; Lieutenant Peter Steenberg; Ensign Edward Hubard. To Captain Peachy,<sup>60</sup> Lieutenant John Williams; Ensign William Dangerfield. To Captain Bell, Lieutenant John Campbell; Ensign William Fleming. To Captain McKenzie,<sup>61</sup> Lieutenant James Baker, Ensign Leonard Price.

And were ordered by their Instructions, to Rendezvous as followeth:

Fredericksburgh; Captain Spotswood, and Company, Captain Harrison, and Company, Captain Lewis, and Company. Winchester; Captain Bell, and Company; Alexandria; Captain Peachy, and Company; Captain McKenzie, and Company.

The other Subalterns then present, videlicet; Lieutenant's Brockenbrough, Lowry<sup>62</sup> and King: Ensigns, Millner,<sup>63</sup> Dean and Weedon;<sup>64</sup> who were not appointed to any particular Companies, were ordered to Rendezvous at

Fredericksburg; Lieutenant Lowry; Ensign Weedon; Alexandria; Lieutenant Brockenbrough, Lieutenant John King, Ensign John Dean.

And received the following Orders.

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57. Capt. Robert Spotswood.

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58. Lieut. John Edward Lomax.

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59. Ensign Thomas Carter.

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60. Capt. William Peachy.

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61. Capt. Robert McKenzie.

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62. Lieut. John Lowry.

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63. Ensign Nathaniel Milner.

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64. Ensign George Weedon.

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### **To CAPTAIN PETER HOGG<sup>65</sup>**

September 6, 1755.

You are hereby Ordered, and strictly Commanded, to repair immediately, upon the Receipt of this, to Jackson's River, or the Head-Quarters of Captain Lewis's Company; and there take upon you the Command of said Company. You are therefore to be very punctual in obeying such Orders as have or may be given, by the Governour; and such as you shall receive from time to time, from me: And above all; you are to be particularly careful in using your best Endeavours, to Guard and Protect the Inhabitants and Settlers in those Parts from the Incursions of the French, and their Indians; and to conform and regulate your Conduct, in every respect, by the Strict Rules and Discipline of War.

65. Washington inclosed these instructions in a short note, reminding Hogg that he was the senior captain, and that as the orders admit of no delay "I must again repeat, that I expect your immediate compliance; and that no excuse shall occasion the least delay."

**To MAJOR ANDREW LEWIS**

September 6, 1755.

Sir; The Country have come to a Resolution, to Raise Sixteen Companies, to be Formed into a Regiment; the command of which they have honoured me with;<sup>66</sup> and were kind enough to allow me the Liberty of appointing my Field Officers. In consequence of which I have commissioned you, Major, and must desire you will, so soon as Captain Hogg arrives, to take the command of your Company; repair to Fredericksburgh with all imaginable Dispatch, to take the command of those Recruits, that shall be brought into that appointed place of Rendezvous. I know, your Diligence and Punctuality require little or no spur; yet as this is an Affair that calls for the greatest dispatch I must earnestly recommend it to you. You must be careful in getting a proper Return of your Company, that I may order Things accordingly.

A Return must also be delivered to Captain Hogg, not only of the Men, but of the Arms, Tools, &c. and his Receipt taken. I am, &c.

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66. As soon as Colonel Washington was informed of his appointment, he repaired to Williamsburg to consult with the governor respecting future operations. When he wrote this letter he was on his return to Winchester, which place was fixed upon as his headquarters. The two other points of rendezvous for the recruits were Fredericksburg and Alexandria.— *Sparks*

**MEMORANDUM**

After this, I sent to Mr. Dick; and finding him irresolute and indetermined, whether to continue to act as Commissary or no; I took an opportunity to write as followeth, in order to receive a written answer.<sup>67</sup>

**To CHARLES DICK**

September 6, 1755.

Sir: I called at your Store last night, in order to converse farther with you, concerning the Commission of Commissary; but not meeting with you there, I have taken this method of desiring to be better informed of your Sentiments; I have enclosed you a Copy of that Article of my Instructions,<sup>68</sup> which empowers me to appoint *another*, in case you do not act; that you may see by what authority I am governed,

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67. These and similar memoranda which follow were evidently transcribed by Robert Lewis in 1784–85 from Washington's revision of the original record (a continuance of the editing process begun with the so-called Braddock Expedition Letter Book. Unfortunately the originals from which this volume was transcribed have not come to light. They may have been destroyed immediately after this transcript was made.

and as the nature of the Service, absolutely requires that something should immediately be done; I shall be under a necessity of appointing a person for that purpose, if you discontinue your Services; which If I might be allowed to advise, I would be far from recommending, before October at least; when the Committee meet,<sup>69</sup> and will no doubt, obviate your just objections: as they only *now* want your accompt settled, to discharge it. And as to the objection you offer, I am perswaded it will be in my power to remove; as money will be lodged in my hands for that and other purposes. If you are determined nevertheless, to throw up at all events; I must beg to know what Stores of Provisions, &c. are in your hands, and where they lie. I should also be glad to know, whether you were in earnest, when you talked of preventing their issuing 'till you was reimbursed. But this I am satisfied you could never entertain a serious thought of, if once you considered the train of ills that may attend detaining the Kings or Country's Stores; and how ill-judged a Scheme it will be to come at your Money.

I would therefore advise you to a serious consideration of these things; and should be glad to know your determination by the Bearer. For as the Recruits are appointed to Rendezvouz at Fredericksburgh, Alexandria, and Win

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68. From Governor Dinwiddie.

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69. The military committee of the Virginia House of Burgesses. Washington noted: "Mr. Dick hereupon resolved, to act until a meeting of the committee in October and received the following instructions." (See Orders For Commissary Charles Dick, September 6, *post.*)

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chester, there must be Provisions laid in at all those places, together with several other necessities, that will require the immediate attention of a Commissary: For executing of which, if you incline to continue 'till you are better informed of the Terms, I shall give money and Instructions, to conduct yourself by. I am, Sir, etc.

## **INSTRUCTIONS FOR MAJOR ANDREW LEWIS**

September 6, 1755.

1st. So soon as you arrive in Town, you are to take upon you the Command of the Troops that are Recruited, and brought in from the different Counties by the several Officers: and after Reviewing, you are to Receive and reject such men as fall under the enclosed Instructions; which were delivered to each Recruiting Officer, to Regulate his Conduct by.

2dly. You are to be very careful in having exact Returns made every Day of each Company; by which you are to see no more Provisions are drawn for, than what is necessary.

3dly. You are to see that the Muster-Rolls of each Company and Party, are called three times a day; and that the men are as often cal

led out and taught the New platoon way of Exercising, That you may be the better enabled to do this, I shall order a Sergeant or two from Fort Cumberland.

4thly. The Men are to Cook their own Provisions in the Barracks, provided by Mr. Commissary Dick; who you are to apply to for Kettles and other absolute Necessaries.

5thly. The Men are to be regularly practised in Shooting at Targets, in order that they may acquire a Dexterity in that kind of firing.

6thly. In all things, you are to see that good Regular Discipline is observed; in order to do which, you are to Govern yourself in every respect, by the Rules and Articles of War.

Herewith is enclosed the Orders for the several Recruiting Officers, which you may deliver as they come in.

**To CAPTAIN ROBERT SPOTSWOOD**



[Fredericksburg], September 6, 1755.

As soon as you arrive in Town with your Recruits, you are to put yourself under the Command of Major Andrew Lewis, or the Field Officer appointed for that Rendezvous: And you are to be strictly obedient to all such lawful Commands, as you shall from time to time receive from him: and particularly to observe, that the Muster Rolls of your Men are regularly called three times a day, and that they are as often called out to their Exercise; at which times you are to

be present. If it should so happen that you arrive before the Field Officer; you are then to receive your Orders from, and make your daily Reports to, the Oldest Officer present, having regard to the above Directions.<sup>70</sup>

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70. The same orders were sent to Captains Lewis and Harrison, Lieutenant Lowry, and Ensign Weedon.

## **To ROBERT DINWIDDIE**

Alexandria, September 11, 1755.

[Sir:] After waiting a day or two at Fredericksburgh, writing Orders for the Recruiting Officers appointed to that Rendezvous, and dispatching an Express for Major Lewis, who I have ordered Captain Hogg to relieve; I set out for this place in order to examine the Clothing, Provisions, &c.; and exact Return of which I herewith send.

I also enclose your Honour a List of such Things as Major Carlyle can furnish, which are suitable, and, I think, tolerably cheap.

All the Shoes, Stockings, Shirts, and Hats may be had here, also one hundred complete Suits at Sixty shillings or less, which I think would not be amiss to engage, as no one part of the Country can, I believe, furnish the whole.

However, I have desired Major Carlyle to Receive your Honours Directions

in this particular; and for making the others below, a Pattern is sent: it would be right to have them differing in Size: unless there is a proper provision made to supply the Soldiers with Clothing, after

they receive their first allowance, great inconveniences will necessarily arise; particularly Shoes, Stockings and Shirts, are not laid in; for those are the most durable, and the needed.

The Method I would recommend is, for the Country, or some Person, to provide these Things, and Lodge them, or a part thereof, in Camp, in the hands of the Quarter Master, who may be appointed to Receive and deliver them to the Soldiers, by particular Orders from their Captains; taking care to produce those Orders, and proper Vouchers for the delivery, each pay-day; when it must be deducted out of that Soldiers Pay, who receives it.

This, I think, will be a means of keeping them always provided, and fit for the Duty, preventing the Officers from supplying the Men, which is generally attended with misunderstanding, and will also be a means of discouraging Followers of the Army, from demanding such exorbitant Prices, as is usually practised on such Occassions.

However, I only offer this as the most Efficacious method I can at present think of; if any other more elligible can be found, I should be glad to see it practised; as something of the kind must be done, otherwise the Soldiers will soon be Barefooted &c. which always pleads exemption from Duty; and,

indeed, in the approaching Season, will render it a very just Excuse. And these things can not be got, without sending all over the Country, and scarcely then; I think it would be advisable for your Honour to send to Philadelphia for Shoes, white-yarn Stockings, Blankets, Kettles, Tomahawks, a Quantity of Cartridge Paper, Stationery, and a proper Assortment of Indian Goods, which can not be had here. There is an opportunity of getting'em round immediately by the *Hopewell*, Captain Martin, who carries the Regimental Stores thither.

I applied to the Speaker, as your Honour directed me, for a Letter to Major Carlyle, about the Provisions; but he thought it advisable to postpone giving it until the Quantity was ascertained, to know whether it would Defray the Charges of Freighting a Vessel; which I have informed him of by this Express.

Major Carlyle is of opinion, that the West-India Markets will do better than New York, as the Returns will be in Rum; which he thinks may soon be turned into Flour at the Camp; and this will be much better than getting it from New York (if it is to be had there) as the Carriage afterwards, will almost equal the First Cost.

If all the Country Provisions are Shipped off, it will be necessary for your Honour to order the Irish Beef to be Served out to the Recruits as they arrive. I am afraid

I shall not be able to push things with Spirit this Fall, for for want of a Commissary who will act with vigour; Mr. Dick seeming determined not to enter into further Contracts, unless he is better Supported, or until he meets the Committee in October; by which time the best Season for engaging Beef, will be over. Nor had I it in my power to assist him much, as the Sum was trifling I received. I greatly fear, we shall also proceed slowly in Recruiting; it was attempted at the General Muster in this County, without success. And the Officers newly appointed, began to express their apprehensions so soon as they had their Commissions. And to Draught them will answer no end, unless they are put under better Regulations: A proof of this is very flagrant in Fredericksburgh; where they were obliged to imprison the Men, who were afterwards Rescued by their Companions.

While I am speaking of the Companies, I can not help observing, that one Subaltern is insufficient to do the Duty.

As I understand several of the Officers are gone to Williamsburgh, I must beg the Favour of your Honour to Dispatch them as quickly as possible, and order them to proceed to Fredericksburgh, and from thence to Alexandria; if they do not meet me and wait my arrival from Fort Cumberland and Winchester; where they will Receive their Recruiting Orders &c. I have taken care to order Salt up, and this Day shall set out myself.

I am your Honor's &c.

Major Carlyle tells me, that there were fifty Suits of Clothing sent down to your Honour, which he supposes are now at Hampton.<sup>72</sup>

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72. Washington wrote this same day what was practically an identical letter to Speaker John Robinson, which Ford prints.

## MEMORANDUM

After giving the necessary orders and collecting returns of provisions, clothing etc. at the place and stores at Rock Creek,<sup>73</sup> I continued to Winchester, where I arrived on the fourteenth.

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73. Rock Creek is a little to the north of Centerville, Fairfax County, on the direct road to Williams Gap.

**To CAPTAIN DAVID BELL**

September 15th., 1755.

If it happens that I am not in Winchester when you arrive there with your Recruits; You are hereby Ordered to put yourself &c. under the Command of the oldest Officer then present; observing particularly, all such Directions as you shall from time to time receive from him. But, if it should so fall out, that you are the first that arrive there, or if you should be the oldest Officer there; you are then to govern yourself by the enclosed Instructions.<sup>74</sup>

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74. The instructions, with an inconsequential variation, were the same as those to Maj. Andrew Lewis of September 6.

**MEMORANDUM**

From thence I continued to Fort Cumberland, and took upon me the Command of the Troops there; issuing the Daily Orders, and giving such Instructions and Directions, as appeared necessary.

**ORDERS**

Fort Cumberland, September 17, 1755.

Ensign Forgie<sup>75</sup> for the Day.

Parole Success.<sup>76</sup>

George Washington Esquire, is by His Honor Governour Dinwiddie, appointed Colonel of the Virginia Regiment, and Commander in Chief of all the Forces that now are, and shall be Raised &c. &c.

Captain Adam Stephen is appointed Lieutenant Colonel; and Captain Andrew Lewis, Major of the same Regiment. Captain George Mercer, of the Virginia Forces, is Appointed Aid de Camp to Colonel Washington.

Lieutenants John Savage, John Mercer, Joshua Lewis, and Henry Woodward, are promoted as Captains in the Virginia Regiment.

Mr. Robert Spotswood, Carter Harrison, Charles Lewis, William Peachy, David Bell, and Robert McKenzie, are appointed Captains in the same Regiment.

Ensigns Thomas Bullet, Walter Stewart, John Blegg, Hancock Eustace, and George Frazier, are promoted to Lieutenants. Mr. John Edward Lomax,

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75. The name Forgie does not appear in any other place than this; it is not in any of the available manuscripts or printed lists of Virginia soldiers. There are numerous evidences of inadvertence on the part of Robert Lewis, the copyist of 1784-85, and this name seems to be another of them.

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76. The parole was a password for the day given to officers, while the countersign was the password for all. As no countersign was established, it is conjectured that only officers were permitted to pass the sentries; but military practice in Colonial times is not entirely clear.

Peter Steenberg, John Williams, Augustine Brokenborough, John Campbell, John Hall, John Lowry, John King, and James Baker, are appointed Lieutenants: Quarter Master, Mordecai Buckner, is appointed Ensign. Mr. John Polson, William Dangerfield, Edward Hubbard, John Dean, Nathaniel Milner, William Fleming, Leonard Price, Nathaniel Thomson, Thomas Carter, Charles Smith, Lee Hessius Dekeyzier,<sup>77</sup> George Gordon, and George Weeden, are appointed Ensigns.

The former Captains and Lieutenants, who are not promoted, continue in their former posts. James Livingston, Fort Major, is appointed Adjutant to the Virginia Regiment. Every Officer of the Virginia Regiment, to provide himself as soon as he can conveniently, with a Suit of Regimentals of good blue Cloath; the Coat to be faced and cuffed with Scarlet, and trimmed with Silver: A Scarlet waistcoat, with Silver Lace; blue Breeches, and a Silver-laced Hat, if to be had, for Camp or Garrison Duty.

Besides this, each Officer is to provide himself with a common Soldiers Dress, for Detachments, and Duty in the Woods.

The Captain or Commanding Officer, of each Company, to give in an exact Return of the State of his Company; specifying the number of Arms, Tents, Kettles, and Clothing thereto Belonging. All Orders before given for the Regulation of the Fort and Camp, to be punctually obeyed.

Mr. Defever, Conductor of the Train,

77. Lehaynsius De Keyser.

to give in an exact Return of the Ammunition of all Sorts, and Tools of every kind.

All the Officers of the Virginia Regiment, to attend Colonel Washington at five O'Clock this Evening; in the Room adjoining the Fort Majors'.

## **ORDERS**

Fort Cumberland, September 18, 1755.

Ensign Buckner, Officer for the Day.

Parole Diligence.

Lieutenant Bronaugh<sup>78</sup> is promoted as a Captain in the Virginia Regiment. All the Men of the Virginia Troops, are to be formed into two Companies, which are to be commanded by Captains Savage and Bronaugh, 'till further Orders.

Captain Savage, Lieutenant Blegg, and Ensign Smith, to take care of Captains Steven, Hogg, and Mercer's Companies; Captain Bronaugh, Lieutenant Stewart, and Ensign Polson, to take care of Captain Waggeners (late Polson, Peyrouny and Cockes Companies).

All the rest of the Officers of the Virginia Troops, to attend Colonel Washington at 12 O'Clock, to Receive their Recruiting Instructions.

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78. William Bronaugh.

## **ORDERS**

Fort Cumberland, September 19, 1755.

Lieutenant McManners, Officer for the Day.

Parole England.

All the Men of the two Companies formed Yesterday, are to distinguish their Firelocks by some particular mark, which the Subaltern Officers of the Companies are to enter in a Book, which they are to keep for that purpose. And if any man changes or loses his Firelock, or other Arms, he is to be confined and severely punished. The Arms of all Deserters or Dead Men, are immediately to be delivered to the Commissary, who is to pass his Receipt for them to the Commanding Officer of the Company.

Any Soldier who is guilty of any breach of the Articles of War, by Swearing, getting Drunk, or using an Obscene Language; shall be severely Punished, without the Benefit of a Court Martial.

A Court Martial to sit immediately, for Trial of all the Prisoners in the Guard.

Members.

Captain Savage, President.

Lieutenant Roe, Lieutenant Steuart;

Lieutenant Linn, Lieutenant Blegg.<sup>80</sup>

The Officers of the two Companies formed yesterday are to have their Rolls called over thrice every Day; which the Officers are to attend and see Done by turns, beginning with the Captain: and if any Soldier is absent without Leave, he is to be confined immediately, and tried by a Court Martial, or punished at the Discretion of the Commanding Officer.

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80. Capt. John Savage, Lieut. John Roe, Lieut. John Lemon (Linnon, Linn), of the rangers, Lieut. Walter Steuart, and Lieut. John Blagg (Blegg).

## **To CAPTAIN JOSHUA LEWIS**

Fort Cumberland, September 18, 1755.

Whereas the Service Requires a number of Men to be Raised, with all convenient Dispatch; you are hereby Ordered to Repair as soon as possible to Annapolis, and other publick Places in Maryland, and there to use your utmost Endeavours in Recruiting Men for His Majesty's Service, under my Command; taking particular care, to do nothing contrary to your Recruiting Instructions.

You are to send your Subalterns into the Back Parts of Maryland, Pennsylvania, or such other Places as you shall think most advisable, to Expedite the Recruiting Service. You are to send me an Account from time to time of your Proceedings, and of your Success, and to be punctual in obeying

all such Orders as you shall Receive from me.

Lastly: I recommend it to you and your Officers, to use the utmost Diligence and all possible Dispatch.<sup>79</sup>

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79. The same instructions were given to Capt. Thomas Cocke and, with necessary modifications, to Lieuts. Hancock Eustace and William Starke and Ensign Mordecai Buckner.

### **To CAPTAIN ANDREW MONTOUR**

Fort Cumberland, September 19, 1755.

Sir: The number of the Virginia Forces is considerably augmented, and I have again taken them under my Command.

I am therefore very desirous of seeing you here; and the more so, because

I have it in my power to do something for you in a Settled way, which I hope will be agreeable to you. You have, much contrary to my inclinations, been tossed about from place to place, and disappointed in your just Expectations: which Inconveniences I will Remedy, as much as lies in my power.

I desire you will bring some Indians along with you, which will put it more in my power to Serve you. They shall be better used than they have been, and have all the kindness from us they can desire.

If you think it proper to bring Mrs. Montour along with you, she shall Receive the best Usage, and be provided for. I am, &c.

### **\*To COMMISSARY CHARLES DICK<sup>81</sup>**

Fort Cumberland, September 20, 1755.



You are hereby Ordered, to give in an exact Return of all the Cloathing of every kind; Arms of all Sorts; Ammunition, Provisions, Tents, Pack-Saddles, &c. &c. that are at Winchester; and to be very particular in Distinguishing the Quantity, and Quality of each Sort.

I must also desire you will provide Barracks, Provisions and other absolute necessarys, for the Recruits, as they arrive at that place of Rendezvous and If you find any Difficulty in getting Provisions in the Neighbourhood of Winchester, you must send to Conogogee: to enable you to do this, I have furnished you with

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81. Original is in the archives of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Dick was commissary general of the Virginia forces.

£20.

I have left a Letter, and Orders for Captain Bell,<sup>82</sup> or his Subalterns; which I desire you will Deliver, or cause to be delivered, as soon as they come to their Rendezvous; which will be the first of October. As the Letter contains the Officer's Instructions, the first that arrives, is ordered to open it.

[H.S.P.]

## **INSTRUCTIONS TO LIEUTENANT COLONEL ADAM STEPHEN**

Fort Cumberland, September 20, 1755.

1st. To complete the Stockade round the Magazine, as soon as possible; and to have that House which contains the empty Casks, covered with Dirt, and the Ammunition removed into it.

2ly. To have the Barracks well cleaned and Sweetened, as soon as the Hospital is Removed, and the Troops moved into them.

3ly. To have Wood on the other side of the Run cut down, and Burnt, or Corded up for Firing.

4ly. To Secure all the publick Horses that may be brought in by the Country People; and to use all possible Diligence, in getting those that are carried off by others.

5ly. To send out a Party after the Horses John Nickols informs of, also after Some that were Sold to John Nealand, without Leave; and to employ Hands to look after

82. Capt. David Bell.

the whole, until I return.

6ly. To See that both Officers and Soldiers, are Regularly and constantly, Exercised twice a Day; and that the Adjutant is very Diligent in his Duty.

7ly. To be particularly kind &c. to Captain Montour, and to Treat the Indians, if any arrive with him, in the most familiar manner.

8ly. To Leave Instructions with Captain Savage, to observe the same Directions, when you come to Willaimsburgh.

9ly. When the Coopers arrive, to see they are constantly employed; and they are to make their Casks so small, that a Horse may carry two of them.

If they do not arrive soon, you are to send an Express for them.

10y. To see that the Gun-Smith is as Expeditious as possible, in Repairing the Arms: and to order the Carpenters to make Ram-rods for them.

11y. To send three Sergeants to each place of Rendezvous; as soon as they shall be thought capable of teaching the Recruits; and to deliver each of them one of the Country's Horses, if it is thought advisable; as they are to be answerable for them.

## **To CAPTAIN PETER HOGG**

Fort Dinwiddie, September 24, 1755.

You are Hereby Ordered, to add Bastions to, and Build Barracks in the Fort, immediately: and to fall all the Wood within Musket-Shot, that you may be Guarded against Surprizes.

You are to provide Coopers, and have Casks to put your Provisions in, and See that Some of them are made of such convenient Sizes, that they may be easily transported on horseback.

You are to Engage Grain enough to Serve your Company twelve Months; and to Draw upon your Commissary for money to pay for it. Beef you may also engage to be delivered at your Fort, upon the most Reasonable Terms you can, and draw as above, for the money.

You are to see that the Muster-Rolls of the Company are regularly called three times a day; at which times an Officer is to be present: and that they are duly Exercised, when the Service will admit of it.

You are to transmit me weekly Returns of your Company, to be Signed by yourself and Officers; and a Return the first Day of every Month, reporting the variations that may have happened.

And when any of the non-commissioned Officers or Soldiers, should happen to Die, they are to be continued on the Rolls as Effective men, twenty-eight Days, to pay for their Coffins, &c. You are not to

Supply the Men with any necessaries, deducting the same from their pay; you are only to be careful in Seeing they lay out their pay, or part thereof, for such Necessaries as they stand in need of. You are to use your utmost Endeavours in protecting the Inhabitants of Green-Briar, Jackson's River, and those within, from the Incursions of the French and Indians. In order to do which, you are frequently to send out strong Parties to Scour the Woods and Mountains, in those parts.

Lastly. You are to be very particular in Seeing that good Discipline and Order are observed in your Garrison, &c. and you are to Govern yourself, in every Respect, by the Rules, and Articles of War.

## MEMORANDUM

After Examining into the State of Affairs here, and giving such Directions as seemed convenient; I set out on my Return to Alexandria, where I arrived the second of October; and gave the following Instructions, &c.

### To CAPTAIN THOMAS WAGGENER

Alexandria, October 3, 1755.

As the Service at present will not allow of Colonel Stephen, as was first intended; you are hereby ordered, to follow, the within Instructions, which were designed for him<sup>84</sup>

If your Leisure will admit, while you Command here, you are to frequent the publick places hereabout, and endeavour to Enlist what Men you can for the Service.

As all the Officers Instructions direct them to apply to Colonel Stephen for Orders; it will be necessary to shew these Orders, as they arrive, that they may not hesitate to obey.

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84. Waggener had been overlong in arriving at Alexandria, and Capt. George Mercer, aide to Washington, wrote him a sharp letter (October 2) by Washington's direction.

**To FRANCIS TRIPLETT, CADET**

Alexandria, October 3, 1755.

You are hereby Ordered to Repair to all the publick Places, where you have the greatest probability of Success; and are to use your utmost Endeavours, to Enlist Men for His Majesty's Service under my Command: and you are to observe such farther Directions as are contained in the General Instructions herewith given you: And are by no means to exceed the time appointed for your Rendezvous here.

**To MAJOR JOHN CARLYLE**

October 3, 1755.

You are hereby Ordered, to give out of the Stores left under your care by the English Troops, Beds, Blankets, &c. to the Officer appointed to take care of the Recruits; taking his Receipt for the same, for the number Delivered.

You are also Ordered, to deliver the allowance of Flour out of the Virginia Stores, and Beef from the Irish Beef left in your care, by Robert Leake Esquire.

Any Expences that may arise for Cooking, House-Rent, &c. that are Reasonable, you may pay, and it shall be repaid you again.

**MEMORANDUM**

Arrived at Fredericksburgh, in my way to Willaimsburgh.

## **ORDERS**

October 5, 1755.

As Captain George Mercer of the Virginia Forces, has been appointed Aide de Camp to Colonel Washington, and declared in Publick Orders at Fort Cumberland. To prevent any Disputes

or delays of Orders, which may be issued by him. It is also thought proper to acquaint all Officers, &c. at this place, with the said appointment; and that all Orders which come from him are to be as punctually obeyed, as those which may come from the Commander in Chief.

Every Officer of the Virginia Regiment is, as soon as possible, to provide himself with an uniform Dress, which is to be of fine Broad Cloath: The Coat Blue, faced and cuffed with Scarlet, and Trimmed with Silver: The Waistcoat Scarlet, with a plain Silver Lace, (if to be had), the Breeches to be Blue; and every one to provide himself with a Silver-laced Hat, of a Fashionable size.

A Detachment of one Lieutenant, one Ensign, three Sergeants, three Corporals, a Drummer, and Fifty private men, under the Command of Captain Woodward, are to March on Monday next, for Fort Cumberland, and to proceed according to the following March Route: Viz.

Monday, October the 13th. To William Pickets

14th. To Martin Hardens

15th. To Joseph Nevils

16th. To Halt

17th. To Watts's

18th. To the River

19th. To Winchester

20-21 To Halt

22 To Jesse Pugh's

23 To Henry Enochs

24 To Friend Cox's

25 To Plumers, at Cresaps

26 To Fort Cumberland

Lieutenant Lomax and Ensign Hubbard, are Subalterns appointed for this Detachment, being the eldest at present fit for Duty. All the Officers, except such as Major Lewis shall think fit to stay in Town, to take care of the Recruits, are to disperse themselves to different parts, and have a farther time, 'till the 20th. of October, allowed them for Recruiting; on which Day, they are to Repair to their place of Rendezvous, without Failure, with what Recruits they can Raise.

#### **To CAPTAIN HENRY WOODWARD**

[Fredericksburg], October 6, 1755.

You are hereby Ordered, to proceed with the Detachment under your Command to Fort Cumberland, according to the Route prescribed in the General Orders: You are to provide yourself at this place, with Sufficient Ammunition for your Detachment, as there is none at Winchester. When you arrive at Winchester, you are to procure a Waggon to assist you to Fort Cumberland.

You are to apply to the Commanding Officer at Winchester, for Arms for your Detachment: also for Sufficient Provisions to serve them to Fort Cumberland. When you arrive at the Fort, you are to see that the men are Exercised daily; and are to receive your Orders from the Commanding Officer there.

You are to observe Good Order.

#### **ORDERS TO ORDINARY KEEPERS,<sup>85</sup> ON CAPTAIN WOODWARD'S ROUTE TO FORT CUMBERLAND**

Friday, October 6, 1755.

You are hereby Ordered and strictly Required, to make proper provisions of meat, Bread, &c. for Sixty Men one day: they will be at your House on the Day of October, on their March to Fort Cumberland: and I will see you paid a reasonable Allowance.

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85. These were William Picket, Martin Harden, Joseph Nevil, and Watts; Watts was at Goose Creek Ford, now Delaplane, Fairfax County.

From hence I set out on the 7th to Williamsburg; and from Todds Ordinary...continued my journey to Colonel Baylors, when I was over taken by an Express sent from Colonel Stephen, informing, that a Body of Indians had fallen on the Inhabitants, killed many of them, destroyed and Burnt several of their Houses.

### **To ROBERT DINWIDDIE<sup>86</sup>**

Fredericksburg, October 8, 1755.

Sir: I arrived at this place, in less than three hour's after I wrote you from Colo. Baylor's,<sup>87</sup> and some small time after the arrival of Colo. Stephen who brings a worse acct, than he related

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86. Original in the J. P. Morgan Library.

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87. Col. John Baylor. His son George was an aide-de-camp to Washington in the Revolutionary War.

in his Letter; but as he is the bearer I shall be less prolix referring to him for particular's.

I shall set out this Evening for Winchester where I expect to be join'd by the Recruits from Alexandria and this place (as soon as they can possibly march that distance) also by one hund'd men from Prince Willm. and Frederick, and I have wrote to Fairfax coty. desiring that a Troop of Horse may hold themselves in readiness to March at an hour's warning, so that I doubt not but with the assistance of these I shall be able to repulse the Enemy if they are still committing their outrages on the Inhabitants.

We are at a loss for want of almost every necessary. Tents, Kettles, Arms, Ammunition, Cartridge-Paper, &c, &c, we are distress'd for, therefore I hope as your Honour did not send to Philadelphia for them, you will if possible endeavour to get them below, and send them by the first opportunity to this place or Alexandria with order's that they may be forwarded immediately to Winchester.

I must again take the liberty of mentioning to your honour, the necessity there is of putting the Militia, (when they are drawn out into actual Service) under better regulations than they are at present; as well as there is of putting us under a Military Law,<sup>88</sup> otherwise we shall only be a burthensome charge to the Country, and the others will prove its ruin. That this may not appear an unmeaning expression I shall refer your

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88. Of this the governor was convinced, for immediately after the defeat of Braddock he wrote to his superiors of his intention to press a military law, without which little dependence could be placed in the militia. In the August session a new regulation of militia was passed. (See Hening's *Statutes at Large*, vol. 5, P. 530.)

Honour, to Lit-Colo. Stephen who can give you some late proofs of their disobedience, and inconsistent behaviour.

I find I cannot possibly be in Williamsburg, (as these affairs will engage me some time) till abt the 6th. 7th. or 8th. of Novr. when I should be glad to meet a committee in order to settle with your Honour and them some points that are very necessary for the good of the Expedn.

Colo. Stephen has orders to receive (if he can) some money below that we may be enabled to pay the Troops and to keep up their spirits, and to answer such immediate charges as cannot be dispensed with til I come down; and I should be glad if your honour would order him to repair therewith (so soon as his business is done with the Committee) to Winchester and from thence with a proper Guard to Fort Cumberland. I hope the Treasury will have a sufficient sum of money prepared against I come down, that I meet with no great Delay.

I should be glad your honour would give Colo. Stephen all the assistance you can in gettg. the money, forwarding this to me that I may be the sooner down. There are abt 70 Recruits at this place, and I left 25 at Belhaven which I

suppose are augmented before this by Officer's who I am sorry to say have paid slight regard to Orders, in not being to their places of Rendezvous according to appointment which was the first Instant, the most flagrant proof of this appears Capt. Harrison<sup>89</sup> who I have heard nothing of since he rec'd his Instructions. I am, &c.

[M.L.]



**To JOHN ROBINSON**

Fredericksburg, October 8, 1755.

[Sir:] Being much hurried, I shall refer you to Colonel Stephen for Particulars, who brings a melancholy account of Back-Settlers. He waits on you for some money to pay the Recruits, and answer such immediate Charges as may arise before I can see you in Williamsburgh; which can not be now, until about the 8th. or 9th. of November: at which time I should be glad to see you there, and to Receive such a Sum, as you think proper to Lodge in my Hands.

I only wait here to issue Orders for the Recruits; and then shall Repair to Winchester with all imaginable Dispatch, and full hopes, of having it in my power to Repel those Barbarous and insolent Invaders, of our Country. I am &c.

**To MAJOR ANDREW LEWIS**

October 8, 1755.

You are to March all the

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89. Capt. Henry Harrison.

Recruits, now Rendezvousing in Fredericksburgh, under the conduct of the following Officers, Viz:

Captain Henry Woodward, Captain Charles Lewis; Lieutenants John Edward Lomax, and Peter Steenbergen; Ensigns Hubbard and George Weedon, to Winchester immediately; using the utmost. Dispatch in your March. You are to leave Orders with Captain Spotswood, to Recruit hereabouts, and to Receive the Recruits which may be sent to Rendezvous here; and that whenever he can collect about twenty men, he is to send a Subaltern or a trusty Sergeant, with them to Winchester.

You are to collect all the Ammunition that can be had here, or what you think a sufficient quantity, and take it up to Winchester with you.

As you will have Officers, more than sufficient for the command with you: You are to send one off every Morning to engage Provisions for the Men where you intend to Quarter that night, or to use other methods in that respect, as you may think most Expedient.

**To CAPTAIN THOMAS WAGGENER**

October 8, 1755.

You are hereby Ordered to proceed to Alexandria, with all possible Dispatch, and to take all the men there under your Command; which, with what Officers you shall think necessary for the number, you are to March immediately to Winchester, when you will receive further Orders.

You are to provide them at Alexandria with Arms, as far as they will go, Ammunition, &c.; if there is any Ammunition there to spare, you are to take it up to Winchester with you, and Lodge it in the Commissary's Store there.

If you think that Provision can not be got on the Road for your Command; you must take it from the Stores at Alexandria. I would have you to use Pack-Horses or Waggons, whichever you shall judge best, for forwarding your March.

You are also to provide your Men with Haversacks.

**To COLONEL HENRY LEE**

Fredericksburg, October 8, 1755.

[Sir:] As I understand Lord Fairfax has had great reason to order one hundred of the Militia of your County<sup>90</sup> to march, to assist in the protection of our Frontiers; I must desire, that you will see that they come on Horse-back, as they will thereby be enabled to make Dispatch and to carry Provisions with them, which must

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90. Prince William County.

be done, as the scarcity of Bread between this and Fort Cumberland, renders it absolutely necessary. I must earnestly recommend dispatch to you, as you must be truly sensible, that the present situation of Affairs, will not admit of the least delay.

I shall be at Winchester to-morrow, and shall expect to see your Detachment there the next Day or the day after, at the farthest. I am Yours,

**To MAJOR JOHN CARLYLE**

Fredericksburg, October 8, 1755.

From the concurring Accounts from Will's-Creek, we have reason to believe, that a greater number of men is wanting than what we are able to Muster at present: it would therefore be advisable to Order a Troop of Horse of your County, to hold themselves in Readiness to March at an hour's warning, in case they should receive such Orders from Lord Fairfax, with whom I expect to be, as soon as the distance &c. can possibly admit. It would be advisable, if they do come, to bring eight or ten Days provision with them. I am &c.

**MEMORANDUM**

At this place I pressed Horses, and Rode immediately to Lord Fairfax's and Winchester; and finding every thing in the utmost confusion, and no certain accounts of the Enemy; I hired two Scouts to go to the Branch,<sup>91</sup> and Endeavour to procure Intelligence: by them I wrote as followeth.

**To CAPTAINS WILLIAM COCKE AND JOHN ASHBY<sup>92</sup>**

Winchester, October 10, 1755.

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91. The South Branch of the Potomac River.

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92. Of the ranger companies.

I received an Express as I was going to Williamsburgh, informing me of the Ravages committed by the Indians on the Back Inhabitants: upon which I rode post to this place, after ordering the Recruits from Fredericksburgh, Alexandria, &c. to Repair here, where I expect them every moment. So that I doubt not you will be encouraged by this to make a Stand, in case you are Attacked or Besieged; as I hope very quickly to Relieve you, and make the Savages and French (who are no better) pay for their Presumption.

I have hired the Bearer to go to you in order to receive a particular account of your Situation, wants, &c. and I must desire you will be very explicit in reciting the Number, and Design of the Enemy.

If their numbers are not large, from many concurring accounts, you ought to send out Parties to stop their progress, which the Timidity of the Inhabitants has been the cause of.

If it should so happen, that you are obliged to quit your Fort for want of Provisions, &c.

You are hereby positively Ordered, to Retreat no farther than Joseph Edwards on Cacapehon: where you will be joined by other Parties as fast as they can be collected. I shall only add,

that I wish you Success, and expect to hear you have; and will Behave consistently with your Character, as Relief is so near at hand. I am &c.

### **To CAPTAIN WILLIAM VANCE, OF THE MILITIA**

Winchester, October 10, 1755.

Hearing that you had quit the Branch, which will not only Discourage those left Behind, but also terrify the Lower Inhabitants, and occasion all of them to abandon their Plantations.

I do hereby Strictly Order and Require of you, to Halt at Joseph Edwards's on Cacapehon, until further Orders; unless you should be drove from thence by Superior Force. You will be quickly joined there by Numbers sufficient to prevent those insolent Invaders from committing such inhuman Outrages; and I hope to Retaliate their Crimes.

It would be right to acquaint the Inhabitants, as I doubt not but you may see many of them Retreating, how necessary, and how much it is their Duty and Interest, to Lodge their Families in some safe place, and join our Party in Dislodging the Enemy from their Lurking places. They will be under no disagreeable Command, nor will they be confined an hour longer than this particular Service Requires; should that be only one week. This you may acquaint them with from me. I am &c.

### **IMPRESS WARRANT**

October 10, 1755.

By Virtue of the Power and authority to me given, as Commander in Chief of all the Forces now Raised &c.

I do hereby Impower you, Powell Hazel, to impress any Horse or Horses, for His Majesty's Service, for the better transporting yourself to and from the Fort, wherein William Vance and Company are.

### **ORDERS FOR THE RECRUITS OF THE TWO COMPANIES OF RANGERS**

Winchester, October 10, 1755.

One Corporal and Seven Men to Mount a Guard, which is to be Relieved at Sun-set to-morrow.

A Centry is to be placed over the Magazine and Gun powder.

Lieutenants Linnon and Rutherford, are to take it by turns, to examine the State of the Recruits, and see that they commit no Irregularities.

An Orderly Man is to attend Colonel Washington

to morrow; and while he stays, is to be Relieved every two hours, regularly.

As the Sheriff can not attend to-morrow, the Orderly Officer is to look after or any other Waggons which shall come to Town; and is to Report them immediately to Colonel Washington.

Lieutenant Linnon for the Day.

### **To COLONEL THOMAS BRYAN MARTIN**

Winchester, October 10, 1755.

Dear Sir: Captain Harden arrived in about half an hour after you went away, and informs me, he has about Seventeen Men coming to Town.

This I thought proper to acquaint you of, that you may advise with his Lordship, whether with these Rangers in Town, the Twenty odd you spoke of, and those Captain Smith thinks he is sure of getting, it would not be necessary to attempt Something. I have sent off these two Men you saw for Intelligence, but have little hope of any Satisfactory account from *one* of them, who seems much addicted to Drinking. If you think these Men and Officers may be depended upon; I do not know but

it would be advisable, to send them up: it will at least be a Strong Reconnoitering Party.<sup>93</sup> Pray make my Compliments to His Lordship, and believe me to be, Yours &c.

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93. The situation in Winchester was depressing. In addition to the uneasiness, there was no ammunition and an urgent call was sent out for a supply; horses could neither be hired nor impressed, and the troops were half naked from lack of clothing.

## **INSTRUCTIONS TO COMMISSARY JONES**

Winchester, October 10, 1755.

You are to proceed to Conogogee immediately; where I expect you will meet with the Waggon you yesterday engaged, by the return of Mr. Defever, Conductor of the Train.

There should be at Conogogee Thirty Boxes of Musket Ball; these you are to bring with you. If there is any Powder in Store, you are also to bring it, and a Cask of Flints. You are to Load the Remainder of the Waggon which you have, or may engage on your way thither, with Flour; which is to be brought to this place, for the use of the Troops which Rendezvous here.

I must particularly, on this occasion, recommend Diligence and Dispatch to you.

## **To ANDREW MONTOUR**

[Winchester, October 10, 1755.]

Dear Montour: I wrote you a Letter of Invitation sometime ago desiring yourself, your Family, and Friendly Indians, to come and reside among us; but that Letter not coming to Hand, I am induced to send another Express with the Same Invitation: being pleased that I have it in my power to do something for you, on a better Footing than it ever ever has been done.

I was greatly enraptur'd when I heard you was at the head of three hundred Indians on a March toward Venango; being satisfied that your hearty attachment to our Glorious Cause; your Courage, of which I have had sufficient proofs, and your presence among the Indians, would animate their just Indignation to do something Noble, something worthy themselves, and honourable to you.<sup>94</sup> I hope you will use your Interest (as I know you have much) in bringing our Brothers once more among us.

Assure them, as you truly may, that nothing which I can do, shall be wanting. Assure them also, that as I have the chief Command, I am invested with power to Treat them as Brethren and Allies; which I am sorry to say, has not been of late.

Recommend me kindly to our good Friend Monocatoothe, and others; tell them how happy it would make Conotocaurious to have an opportunity of shaking them by the Hand at Fort Cumberland; and how glad he would be to treat them as Brothers of our Great King, beyond the Waters!

Flattering myself that you will come, and I doubting not but you will bring as many of them with you as possible, as that will afford me what alone I want, that is, an opportu

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94. The *Dinwiddie Papers* (vol 2, p 243) dates this October 11, and the copy by Kirkpatrick in those papers is so indorsed. The Washington "Letter Book," from which this text is taken, gives October 10.

nity of doing something equal to your Wishes.

I am, etc.

N.B. I doubt not but you have heard of the Ravages committed on our Frontiers by the French Indians, and I suppose French themselves: I am now on my March against them; and hope to give them cause of Repenting their Rashness.

[V.H.S.]

## **To CHRISTOPHER GIST**

Winchester, October 10, 1755.

Before I got to Williamsburgh, the Commissions were chiefly disposed of; yet having you strongly in my mind (which occasioned an earnest solicitation) I succeeded in procuring the only Commission that was vacant, i.e. to be Captain of a Company of Scouts. This is attended with equal Honour, Rank and Profit, with the other Captains; but will be accompanied with more Fatigue; which you will not regard, as you are greatly inured to it. It is intended, that your Company shall consist as much of active woodsmen, capable of something adequate to your names; I must therefore desire you will Repair immediately thither, in order to receive Money and Instructions to Recruit them; and you may be assured, that I shall Endeavor to provide for your Son in the same Company.

I doubt not but you have heard of the Ravages committed by our inhuman Foes, on the back inhabitants; I am now upon my March against them, with full hopes,

that I shall be able to get Satisfaction for their cruel Barbarities.

Never were Indians more wanted than at this time; I have therefore sent to Montour, inviting him, and all he can bring, and should be glad that you would come that way, and use all your interest (as I know you have much with him) to engage his coming; I will promise if he brings many, to do something handsome for him. You had better be silent on this head, though; least where you are measures may be taken by the Pennsylvanians, to prevent him from bringing any Indians. I am, &c.

**TO THE OFFICER APPOINTED TO RECEIVE THE RECRUITS AT ALEXANDRIA.**

October 10, 1755.

As the situation of our Affairs here may detain me longer than I expected, which will prevent me from coming through Alexandria, in my way to Williamsburgh.

You are hereby strictly ordered to send (in case I am not at your Rendezvous by the first of November, at night,) and Express to Fredericksburgh, informing me what Officers there are in town, what number of Recruits, what Parties you have sent off, and when; together with a particular account of every occurrence that has hap

pened since your appointment there. You are not to fail in sending off parties of twenty or twenty five men as fast as they are formed, under the care of a Subaltern or trusty Sergeant. I am &c.

N.B. Twenty or twenty-five men are rather too many for a Sergeants Command; therefore it would better to appoint an Officer to that Command, who is to get Arms at Alexandria, if any arrive there from Williamsburgh; but if this should not be the case, I shall endeavour to Lodge Arms at Winchester for them.

**ORDERS TO CAPTAIN JOHN HARDEN, COMMANDING THE MILITIA; AND LIEUTENANT JOHN LEMON, COMMANDING THE RANGERS, AT WINCHESTER**

October 11, 1755.



As I have been informed that there are Indians lurking about the Plantation of Stephen Julian, it is my Orders, that you, with the Men under your Command, proceed there very early to-morrow morning, and Scour all the woods and suspicious places thereabouts, before you proceed to Meet Captain Smith,<sup>95</sup> and make a Report to me of what you shall observe.<sup>96</sup>

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95. Capt. Daniel [?] Smith.

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96. These orders were countermanded October 12 and the troops ordered to await further orders. Lieutenant Lemon was ordered, October 13, to march the ranger recruits to the South Branch of the Potomac, there to join their respective companies.

**\*To ROBERT DINWIDDIE**

Winchester, October 11, 1755.

Honble. Sir: As I think it my indispensable duty to inform you particularly of my proceedings, and to give the most plain and authentic Acct. from time to time, of our situation, I must acquaint your Honour that, immediately after giving the necessary Orders at Fredericksburg, and despatching Expresses to hurry the Recruits from Alexandria, I rid post to this place, passing by Lord Fairfax's who was not at home, but here, where I arrived Yesterday about noon, and found every thing in the greatest hurry and confusion, by the back Inhabitants flocking in, and those of

the Town removing out, which I have, prevented as far as it was in my power. I was desirous of proceeding immediately, at the head of some Militia, to put a stop to the Ravages of the Enemy; believing their Numbers to be few; but was told by Colo. Martin,<sup>97</sup> who had attempted to raise the Militia for the same purpose, that it was impossible to get above 20 or 25 Men; they having absolutely refused to stir; choosing as they say to die, with their Wives and Familys. Finding this expedient was likely to prove abortive, I sent off expresses to hurry on the Recruits from below, and the Militia from Fairfax, Prince William, &c., which Lord Fairfax had ordered; and also hired Spies to go out and see to discover the Numbers of the Enemy, and to encourage the Rangers who we were told, were blocked up by the Indians in small Fortresses. But if I may offer my opinion, I believe, they are more encompassed by Fear than by the Enemy: I have also impressed Waggons and sent them to Conogogee for Flour, Musket Shott, and Flints; Powder, and a trifling quantity of Paper, bought at extravagant prices for Cartridges, I expect from below. Six or eight Smiths who are now at Work, repairing the fire Arms that are here, which are all that we have to depend on. A man was hired the

24th of last Month, to do the whole, but neglected and was just moving off in Wagons to Pensylvania. I pressed his Waggon and compelled him by Force, to assist in this Work. In all

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97. Col. Thomas Bryan Martin.

things I meet with the greatest opposition. No Orders are obey'd, but what a Party of Soldiers, or my own drawn Sword, Enforces; without this, a single Horse, for the most, urgent occasion cannot be had: to such a pitch has the insolence of these People arrived, by having every point hitherto submitted to them; however, I have given up none, where his Majesty's Service requires the Contrary, and where my proceedings are justified by my Instructions; nor will I, unless they execute what they threaten, i.e. "to blow out my Brains."

I have invited the poor distressed People, who were drove from their Habitations, to lodge their Familys in some place of security, and to join our Party's in Scouring the Woods where the Enemy lie; and believe some will cheerfully assist. I also have and shall continue to take every previous Step to forward the March of the Recruits, &c, so soon as they arrive here: and your Honour may depend that nothing that is in my power to do, shall be wanting for the good of the Service. I wou'd again hint the necessity of putting the Militia under a better Regulation; had I not mention'd it twice before, and a third time may seem Impertinent; but I must once more beg leave to declare, (for here I am more immediately concern'd), that unless the Assembly will Enact a Law, to enforce the Military Law in all its Parts,<sup>98</sup>

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98. A mutiny bill was framed by the legislature in the October session. (See Hening's *Statutes at Large*, vol. 5, p. 559).

that I must, with great regret, decline the Honour that has been so generously intended me; and for this only Reason I do it,—the foreknowledge I have of failing in every point that might justly be expected, from a person invested with full power to exert his Authority. I see the growing Insolence of the Soldiers, the Indolence and Inactivity of the Officers; who are all sensible how confined their punishments are, in regard to what they ought to be. In fine, I can plainly see, that under our present Establishment, we shall become a Nuisance, an insupportable charge to our Country, and never answer any one expectation of the Assembly. And here, I must assume the Freedom to express some surprize, that we alone, should be so tenacious of our Liberty, as not to invest a power, where Interest and Politicks so unanswerably demand it; and from whence so much good must consequently ensue; do we not see that every Nation under the Sun find their acct. therein; and without, it no Order no regularity can be observed? Why then shou'd it be expected from us, (who are all young and inexperienced,) to govern, and keep up a proper spirit of Discipline with't

Laws; when the best, and most Experienced, can scarcely do it with. Then if we consult our Interest, I am sure it is loudly called for. For I can confidently assert, that Recruiting, Cloathing, Arming, Maintaining, and Subsisting Soldiers, who have deserted; has cost the Country an immense Sum, which might have been prevented, were we under Restraints, that would terrify the Soldiers from such practices. One thing more on this head I will recommend, and

then quit the Subject; *i.e.* , to have the Inhabitants liable to certain heavy Fines or Corporal Punishments, for Entertaining of Deserters, and a Reward for taking them up. If this was done, it would be next to an impossibility for a Soldier to Escape; but, on the contrary, as things now stand, they are not only Seduced to run away, but are also harbour'd, and assisted with every necessary means to make their escape.

*Sunday noon* .—Last night at 8 o'clock, arriv'd an express, just spent with fatigue and fear, reporting that a party of Indians were seen at the Plantation of one Isaac Julian ab't 12 Miles off and that the Inhabitants were flying in the most promiscuous manner from their dwellings. I immediately ordered the Town Guards to be strengthened; Perkins's Lieut. to be in readiness with his Company, some Recruits (who had only arrived ab't half an hour before) to be armed; and sent two men, well acquainted with the Woods, to go up that Road, and lay wait to see if they could discover the Numbers and Motion of the Indians, that we might have timely notice of their approach. This Morning, before we could parade the Men, to March upon the last Alarm, arrived a Second Express, ten times more terrified than the former, with information that the Indians had got within four Miles of the Town,

and were killing and destroying all before them; for that he himself had heard constant Firing, and the Shrieks of the unhappy Murder'd! Upon this, I immediately collected what Force I could, which consisted of 22 Men, recruited for the Rangers, and 19 of the Militia, and Marched therewith directly to the place where these horrid Murders were said to be committed. When we came there, whom shou'd we find occasioning all this disturbance, but 3 drunken Soldiers of the Light-Horse, carousing, firing their Pistols, and uttering the most unheard-of Imprecations; these we took, and Marched Prisoners to Town, where we met the Men I sent out last Night, and learned that the party of Indians, discovered by Isaac Julian, proved to be a Mulatto and Negro, seen hunting of Cattle by his Son, who alarmed the Father, and the Father the Neighbourhood. These Circumstances are related only to shew what a panick prevails among the People; how much they are alarmed at the most usual and customary Cry; and yet how impossible it is to get them to act in any respect for their common Safety's; an Instance of this then appeared Colo. Fairfax, who arrived in Town while we were upon the Scout, immediately sent to a Noble Captain (not far off) to repair with his Company forthwith to Winchester; with coolness and moderation this great Captain answered, that his Wife, Family and

Corn was at stake; so were those of his Soldiers; therefore it was not possible for him to come, Such is the Example of the Officers! such the Behaviour of

the Men; and such the unhappy Circumstances on which our Country depends!

*Monday morning* .—The Men I hired to bring Intelligence from the Branch, returned last Night with Letters from Captain Ashby,<sup>99</sup> and the other Parties up there, by which we learn, that the Indians are gone off. Scouts having been dispersed upon those Waters for several days, without discovering tracts or other Signs of the Enemy.

I am also informed, that it is believed, their Numbers amounted to 150; that 70 or near it of our People are kill'd and missing; and that several Houses and Plantations are destroy'd; but not so great havock made as was at first represented. The Rangers and a small company of Militia, ordered there by Lord Fairfax, I am given to understand, intend to March down on Wednesday next, who will be immediately followed by all the Inhabitants of those parts, that had gathered together under their protection: I have therefore sent Peremptory Orders to the Contrary; but what obedience will be paid to it a little time will reveal. I have ordered those Men that were Recruited for the Rangers, to join their Respective Companies; and there is also a party of 20 Militia marched with them, under the Command of Captain Hardin.

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99. Capt. John Ashby, of the family from whom Ashbys Gap in the Blue Ridge is named.

Captain Waggener is this Instant arrived with 30 Recruits, which he marched from Alexandria in less than three days,—a great March indeed! Major Lewis and his Recruits from Fredericksburg, is expected in To-morrow, when with these, and 22 Men of Captain Bell's now here, I shall proceed by quick Marches to Fort Cumberland, in order to strengthen the Garrison there. Besides these, I think it absolutely necessary, that there should be two or three Companies (exclusive of Rangers) to Guard the Potomack Waters, till such times as our Regiment is compleated: and indeed these Rangers and Volunteer Companies in Augusta, with some of their Militia, should be properly disposed of on these Frontiers, for fear of an Attack from that Quarter. This, thot. is submitted to your Honour's Judgment; and waits your Orders for execution, if it shou'd be thought expedient. Captain Waggener inform'd me, that it was with difficulty he pass'd the Ridge for the Crowds of People, who were flying as if every moment was death. He endeavoured, but in vain to stop them; they firmly believing that Winchester was in Flames. I have sent expresses down the several Roads in hopes of bringing back the Inhabitants, who are really frightened out of their Senses. I despatched an express immediately upon my arrival to this place, with a Copy of the Inclosed to Andr'w. Montour, who I heard was at a place called long Island,<sup>1</sup> with 300 Indians, to see if I cou'd engage him and them to join us. The

letter savours a little of Flattery, &c, &c, but this, I hope, is justifiable on such occasions. I also wrote to Gist, ac

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1. Also spoken of as Great Island; in the Holston River. Montour was there with Monacatoocha to meet the Delawares.

quainting him with the Favour your Honour intended him; and desired he would repair home, in order to raise his Companies of Scouts.<sup>2</sup>

I shall defer writing to the Speaker and Committee upon any other head than that of Commissary; still hoping to be down by the time I mentioned in my last (provided no new disturbances happens) having some points to Settle, that I am uneasy and urgent abt. I have been obliged to do dutys quite foreign from my own, but that I shall never hesitate abt, when others do; and the good of the Service requires the contrary.

In a journey from Fort Cumberland to Fort Dinwiddie, which I made purposely to see the Situation of our Frontiers, how the Rangers were Posted, and how Troops might be disposed off for the defence of the Country; I purchased 650 fine Beeves, to be deliver'd at Fort Cumberland by the First day of November, at 10/ pr. hund., except a few that I was obliged to give Eleven Shilg. for, and have my own Bonds now out for the performance of Covenants; this being the Commissary's Business, who, I am sorry to say, has hitherto been of no use, but of disservice to me, in neglecting my Orders, and leaving this place with't Flour, and Fredericksburg with't any Provisions for the Recruits, although their was time

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2. Gist had been sent to Philadelphia for some object connected with the service, and on October 15 he wrote to Colonel Washington from Opeekon: "Your name is more talked of in Pennsylvania than any other person of the army, and everybody seems willing to venture under your command and if you would send some discreet person, doubt not he would enlist a good number, especially to be irregular, for all their talk is of fighting the Indian way. The Assembly of Pennsylvania is now sitting...Mr. Franklin and indeed Mr. Peters both told me, if you was to write a pressing letter to them, informing them of the damage and murder, and desire their assistance, you would now get it sooner than any one in America." This letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

ly notice given: I must beg, that if Mr. Dick will not act, some Person may be appointed that will; for if Things remain in this uncertain Situation, the Season will pass with't hav'g any provision made for the Winter's or Summer's Campaign: whoever acts as Commissary, should be sent up immediately

abt. Salting the Provisions &c. It will be difficult I believe, to provide a quantity of Pork. I enquired as I rode thro' Hampshire, Augusta, &c, and cou'd not hear of much for Sale.

Most of the new appointed Officers have been extremely deficient in their Duties by not repairing to their Rendezvouses, according to Appointment. Captain McKenzie, Lieut King, and Ensigns Milner and Dean,<sup>3</sup> who were ordered to send their Recruits to Alexandria by the first of October, were not arrived when Captn. Waggener left that place, nor have we heard anything of Captn. Harrison, whose Recruits should have Been at Fredericksburg by the same time; and Captn. Bell only sent his here on Saturday last. If these Practices are allowed off, we may as well quit altogether, for no duty can ever be carried on, if there is not the greatest punctuality observed, one thing always depending so immediately upon another.

I have appointed Captain George Mercer (whose Seniority entitled him to it) my Aid de camp; and Mr. Kirkpatrick<sup>4</sup> of Alexandria, my Secretary, a young Man bred to Business, of good Character, well recommended,

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3. Capt. Robert McKenzie, Lieut. John King, Ensigns Nathaniel Miller, and John Dean.

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4. John Kirkpatrick.

and a Person of whose Abilitys cou'd not be doubted.

I hope your Honour will be kind enough to dispatch Colonel Stephen, with Orders to repair here immediately, and excuse the Prolixity of this; I was willing to give a circumstantial acct. of our Situation &ca. that you may be the better enabled to judge what Orders are necessary to give. I am, &c.

Winchester, October 14, 1755.

Majr. Lewis is just arrived, and on Thursday I shall begin my March to Fort Cumberland, allowing the Rects. I day to refresh themselves.

[V.H.S.]

## ADVERTISEMENT

[October 13, 1755.]

An inconceivable Panick which prevailed amongst the people of this County, induced me to write the following Advertisement:

Whereas divers timorous persons run through the Country and alarm its Inhabitants by False Reports, of the Indians having attacked and destroyed the Country, even Winchester itself, and that they are still proceeding: This is to give Notice to all people, that I have great reason to believe that the Indians who committed the late Cruelties (though no lower than the South Branch) are returned Home, as I have certain Accounts that they have not been seen nor heard of these ten days past: And I do advise all my Countrymen, not to be alarmed on every false Report they may hear, as they must now be satisfied, from the many false ones that have been made; but to keep to their Homes and take care of their Crops; as I can venture to assure them, that in a short time the Frontiers will be so well Guarded, that no mischief can be done, either to them or their Plantations, which must of course be destroyed, if they desert them in so shameful a manner.

**To CAPTAIN JOHN ASHBY**

Winchester, October 14th., 1755.

It is my express Orders, that you do not presume to March your Company down on any pretence whatsoever, unless compelled by the Enemy. Clothes will be sent up immediately to you, which you may distribute to the most needy of your Company; and Money I shall bring up to pay them off, if wanted.

**ORDERS**

Winchester October 14, 1755.

Lieutenant Williams for the day.

Parole Abington.

A Return to be given in immediately of the Smiths belonging to Captain Waggeners Command; who are to assist in cleaning the Publick Arms here in Store; the Officer of the Day is to visit the Smiths at work

on the Arms, and to see that they do not neglect their Business. He is also to visit the Guard and Recruits, and see that no irregularities are committed by them, and to see the Guard properly relieved. A Return to be made every morning at 8 O'Clock, of the number of men here; and a regular Report of the Guard to be brought in by the Officer of the Day. Lieutenant Campbell for the Day, to-morrow, who is to observe these Orders. One Sergeant, one Corporal and Sixteen private men. The Guard to-day, to be composed of Captain Waggeners and Lieutenant Campbells Command; An Orderly Sergeant to attend Colonel Washington at his Quarters. All Reports of the Guard &c. to be made to the Aid de Camp. A Court Martial to sit immediately for the trial of a prisoner in the Guard.

## **ORDERS**

Winchester, October 15, 1755.

Captain Woodward for the day.

To morrow one Subaltern, one Sergeant, one Corporal, one Drummer, and twenty five private men, for the Guard. The Recruits to be completely armed, as far as they will go. The Orders given at Fredericksburgh, to have the Rolls called three times a day, are always to be observed; and the Officers are, at calling the Rolls in the Evening, to see that the men have their Arms in good Order and Repair. The Officers of each Company, are to see that the men distinguish their Arms by some particular mark, which the Subalterns are to enter in a Book, they are to keep for that purpose. Lieutenant Campbells Recruits are to be joined with those under the Command of Captain Waggener, until further Orders. The commanding Officers of the Recruits are to give in a Return of the Arms they have received, and what kinds they want to complete them. If any of the men want Haversacks

their Officers are to apply for Orders for Linen for that purpose, and see it immediately made up; Blankets are to be delivered by the Commissary to those of Lieutenant Campbells Recruits, who have not received Rugs, for which he is to pass his Receipt to the Commissary.

## **To LIEUTENANTS JOHN HALL AND JOHN KING**

Winchester, October 16th, 1755.



I received yours, and am as much surprized at your delay in repairing to your Rendezvous, as being at a loss for *Orders* after you *did* arrive there.

I Order, that upon the receipt of this, you March the Recruits immediately to this place, where Clothes and Ammunition will be provided: for your provision is sent to meet you on Martin Hardens' Road, by which you are ordered to March.

If Captain Harrison is at Fredericksburgh, he is to take Command of the Recruits, and March them up here; if not, do not wait for him; march them up without, and wait there for Orders. You are to provide Linen at Mr. Dicks for Haversacks for the men, and bring it up with you, if you can, conveniently.

**To MAJOR JOHN CARLYLE**

Winchester, October 16, 1755.

If the Clothes, &c. which were mentioned in the last to you, are not sent up, I desire you will provide Waggon to send them up with the men which are to come up, immediately. Inclosed, you have a list of Tools which we want very much, as the Boots on the Road all want Repairs; therefore desire you will get them or what you can of them, and send them up immediately. Yours, etc.

**To CAPTAIN WILLIAM PEACHY**

Winchester, October 16, 1755.

You are hereby ordered, to send off all the Recruits which are now under your Command at Alexandria, immediately to Winchester; if there is a Captains Command, you are to order the next eldest Captain to march them up; if not, they are to be marched up by Lieutenant Bullet. The Order of the eleventh instant, about sending a Return to Fredericksburgh, by no means to be neglected. All the Officers who were appointed to Rendezvous at Alexandria the 20th. are allowed a further time, until the 15th. of November; when it is Ordered, that they appear there without delay, with what Recruits they may raise. You are to clothe all the men before you send them off, and must give the Officer who comes with the Recruits, a strict charge of the remainder, Orders will be left for him with Commissary Jones.

## ORDERS

Winchester, October 16, 1755.

Parole Cumberland.

Captain Lewis the Day, to-morrow. One Subaltern, one Sergeant, one Corporal, one Drummer, and twenty-five private men, the Guard to-morrow. The Troops now quartered here, to hold themselves in Readiness to march to morrow. The Waggon ordered down to Fredericksburgh, to set out immediately; and the Commissary to see the rest of the Waggons (except three which are to carry Provisions &c.) loaded with Salt.

Major Lewis to Detach a Subaltern and twenty men, to morrow morning to Philip Bebbs, there to receive some publick Cattle, which they are to Guard to Pearis's, and wait there until the whole Body joins them. All the Soldiers of the Lighthorse, &c. who do not belong either to Major Lewis or Captain Waggeners Commands, are to wait upon the Aid de Camp to morrow morning at 8 O'Clock, to receive their Orders. Officers who want Haversacks for their Men, are to apply to Mr. John Dow, Merchant, for Linen, for which they are to give their Receipts. The Soldiers who brought down, or have any of the Country Horses, are to make a Return of them immediately, and to deliver them to the Aid

de Camp.

## To GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE

Winchester, October 17, 1755.

Sir: Last night by the return of the Express, who went to Captain Montour, I received the enclosed from Mr. Harris at Susquehanna.<sup>5</sup> I think no means should be neglected, to preserve what few Indians still remain in our Interest. For which reason I shall send Mr. Gist, as soon as he arrives (which I expect will be to-day), to Harris's Ferry,<sup>6</sup> in hopes of engaging and

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5. John Harris, who lived a few miles east of the Susquehanna, in Paxton.

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6. Harris's Ferry, on the Susquehanna is now Harrisburg, Pa.

bringing with him the Belt of Wampum and other Indians that are at that place; I shall further desire him to send an Indian express to Andrew Montour, to try if he cannot be brought with them.

In however trifling light the French attempting to alienate the affections of our Southern Indians, may at first appear, I must look upon it as a thing of the utmost consequence, that requires our greatest and most immediate attention. I have often wondered at not hearing this was attempted before, and had it noted among other memorandums to acquaint your Honor of, when I should come down.

The French policy in treating with the Indians is so prevalent, that I should not be in the least surprised, were they to engage the Cherokees, Catawbias, &c. unless timely and vigorous measures are taken to prevent it. A pusillanimous Behaviour now, will ill suit the times; and trusting to Traders and common Interpreters, who will sell their integrity to the highest Bidder, may prove the destruction of these affairs; I therefore think that if a person of distinction, acquainted with their language, is to be found, his price should be come to at any rate. If no such can be had, a man of Sense and Character, to conduct the Indians to any Council that may be held, or superintend any other matters, will be found extremely necessary. It is impertinent, I own, in me to

offer my opinion in these affairs, when better Judges may direct; but my steady and hearty zeal for the cause, and the great impositions I have known practised by the traders &c, upon these occasions, would not suffer me to be quite silent; I have heard, from undoubted authority, that some of the Cherokees, who have been introduced to us as Sachems and Princes, by this interpreter, who shares the profits, have been no other than common Hunters, and bloodthirsty Villains!

We have no accounts yet of the militia from Fairfax, &c. This day I march with about one hundred men to Fort Cumberland. Yesterday an Express informed me of eighty odd Recruits at Fredericksburg, which I have ordered to proceed to this place; but, for want of that regularity being observed, by which I should know where every Officer &c. is, my orders are only conditional, and always confused. The Commissary is much wanted; therefore I hope your Honor will send him up immediately, if not, things will greatly suffer here. Whatever necessities your Honor gets below, I should be glad to have sent to Alexandria; from whence they are much more handy than from Fredericksburg. Besides, as Provision is lodged there, and none at any other place, it will be better for the men, to be all sent there, that can any ways conveniently. For we have met with insufferable difficulties at Fredericksburg; and in our march from thence, through neglect of the commissary, who is greatly wanted up here. Therefore, I hope your Honor will order him.

## ORDERS

Winchester, October 17, 1755.

Parole Dartmouth.

Captain Waggener the Day to-morrow.

One Subaltern, one Sergeant, one Corporal, one Drummer and twenty-five private men, the Guard, to-morrow. The March of the Troops is postponed until to-morrow. The Officers to examine into the state of their Companies and see if they want any necessaries; and if properly provided for a march, the Commissary to see the Waggon loaded as soon as they arrive, according to yesterdays Orders. If he wants any men to assist him, he must apply to Major Lewis, who will order him what he thinks necessary. The Guard for the Cattle is also postponed, it is to March early to-morrow; and observe yesterdays' Orders.

## ORDERS

Winchester, October 18, 1755.

Parole Epsom.

The Troops are not to March until to-morrow, there being no Waggon to carry the Provisions, &c.

Every Officer to keep an Orderly Book, to enter regularly all Orders as they issue, that they may be the better complied with. The Sergeant of the Guard with a file of men, to patrol through the Town, immediately after the Tattoo, and about midnight; and he is hereby expressly ordered, to take up all disorderly or other Soldiers which he may find in the Taverns, or from their own Barracks, and confine them in the Guard. For the future, the Officer of the Guard is to see all Orders which may issue during his tour of duty, relating to the guard, entered in a Book to be kept only for that purpose, and is to be left always in the guardhouse, and delivered over to the Relieving Officer, to prevent a repetition of Orders. Captain Woodward, the Day to-morrow. One Subaltern, one Sergeant, one Corporal and twenty-five men, the Guard to-morrow.

Major Lewis, the three Captains, and the eldest Lieutenant, are to examine into Mr. George West's claim to a man, said to be his Servant, now in the Guard; which if he makes good, they are to deliver

him up, and he to return the Bounty-money, or his Master to make it good. They are also to try all the Prisoners in the Guard. All Orders relating to the Soldiers, are to be read to them every day, by the Sergeants of their Companies; that they may not plead ignorance. The Guard for the Cattle is not to march until to-morrow.

## **ORDERS TO CAPTAIN CHRISTOPHER GIST**

Winchester, October 18, 1755.

1. You are hereby ordered to Repair to Harris's Ferry, and other places where the Indians are upon the Susquehanna, and to use your utmost endeavours to engage them to come and lodge their Wives and Families in our Forts, and assist us in fighting their own Battles.

2ly. You are, so soon as you arrive at the first of those Town or Parties, to hire an Indian to go Express to Captain Andrew Montour; to whom you are to write, desiring him to come and assist you, in bringing them to Fort Cumberland.

3ly. You may assure the Indians that they shall meet with plenty of Provisions, &c. and that we shall take every opportunity to testify the Love we bear them.

4ly. If they should want Horses &c. to assist them along, you are to Hire; this, with all other reasonable charges, will be allowed you.

5ly. You may acquaint the Belt of Wampum, and other Chiefs, that I have complied with their Requests in letting the Governor of Virginia know, that the Shawnees and Delawares have taken the Hatchet against us; and of the French Scheme in setting the Southern Indians against us; which will now be prevented.

6ly. You may also promise Captain Montour from me, that if he will get and bring a Company of Indians consisting of

Sixty men (which is the number of our Companies) that he shall have a Captains Commission, and receive ten shillings a day, and be paid once a month regularly; and if he brings more Men, he will meet with further encouragement.

7ly. If you should meet with any likely young Fellows (Woods-men) you are to enlist them for His Majestys' Service, in your own Company: observing always the Instructions given you for that purpose. Given &c.

**To ROBERT CALENDER**

Winchester, October 20, 1755.

Mr. Gist being appointed Captain of a Company of Scouts, and informing me that you had a mind to engage in our Service; I thought it expedient to acquaint you, that if you can assist him in Recruiting some likely young Fellows, acquainted with the woods, that you will meet with proper Encouragement for so doing; either by receiving a post among us, or full Satisfaction for your trouble. I am &c.

**To COMMISSARY JONES**

Winchester, October 20, 1755.

You are hereby Ordered, to purchase on the best terms you can, 5000 LB of Flour; which must be laid in Store here as soon as possible. If you find that you can not

purchase thereabouts, you are to have that Quantity brought from Conogogee.

You are hereby positively Ordered, to collect as many Waggon in this Town by the 30th. Instant, as will carry up all the Salt which is in Store here; and Provisions for one hundred and fifty men, who will March from this place at that time. If the Inhabitants who have Waggon &c. refuse to send them in; you are to apply to the Commanding Officer here, who will order you a party of Soldiers to bring them in by Force. Provision is to be delivered out to the Soldiers regularly; taking special care that no more is delivered than the number you have returns for; which will be made you every day. You are to purchase all the Forage you can for the Publick; and have it delivered here for you, as soon as possible; at which time you may engage to pay them the money for what they deliver. &c.

**To THE COMMANDING OFFICER OF THE TROOPS WHICH SHALL ARRIVE HERE FROM  
FREDERICKSBURG AND ALEXANDRIA**

Winchester, October 20, 1755.

You are hereby ordered to Halt with the men under your Command, until my Return from Fort Cumberland. You are to make regular Returns, signed by

yourself, to the Commissary every day, of the number of men you have under your Command, for which he is to deliver you Provisions.

The Court House and Barracks at Lemons, are allotted for your men. You are to apply to the Commissary for some body to dress provisions for your men, and to provide firewood for them. The Guard left on the Magazine is to join the Recruits, and you to mount a fourth part of your men as a Guard, which is to be Relieved every Day, &c.

**To LIEUTENANT COLONEL ADAM STEPHEN**

Winchester, October 20, 1755.

You are hereby Ordered to remain at this place with the Recruits which may arrive here from Alexandria, &c. until my Return from Fort Cumberland: and you are, so soon as an Officer arrives with his men, to review them, and discharge such as are not answerable to their Recruiting Instructions.

Those that pass, are to receive their Clothing immediately; taking care to have what necessaries they have received from their Officers, deducted out of those allowed them by the Country.

If they should seem uneasy about their Pay, you must get a Pay-Roll made out by their Officers to the 1st. of October, and pay them off. Their Pay to commence from the day of their Attestation.

The Guard left on the Magazine to join the Recruits; and a fourth part of them are to mount Guard every Day &c.

**To COMMISSARY CHARLES DICK**

Winchester, October 20, 1755.

You are hereby Ordered to wait at this place until my return from Fort Cumberland, that you may be ready to receive the necessary Orders. As the Recruits will March up at my return, which will be the 30th., if you think proper, you may order the Cattle up with that Escort.

There is a man arrived from Governour Dobbs,<sup>7</sup> with one hundred and eighteen Cattle; him I have engaged to wait your arrival, or my Return. &c.

**To MAJOR JOHN CARLYLE**

Winchester, October 21, 1755.

I have sent two Waggon<sup>8</sup> for the remainder of the Clothing, which I desire you

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7. Gov. Arthur Dobbs, of North Carolina.

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8. To Alexandria.

will immediately dispatch, as I expect it here by the 30th. If the two Waggon<sup>8</sup> should be more than sufficient for bringing the Clothes, the Loads must be made up with Provision, or any other necessaries you think we want. &c.

**ORDERS TO CAPTAIN WILLIAM COCKE<sup>9</sup>**

Pearsalls,<sup>10</sup> October 23, 1755.

You are hereby Ordered to remove with your Company from the place where you are now Quartered, to the Plantation of Nicholas Reasmer, in order to Escort Waggon<sup>8</sup> to and from Fort Cumberland, and protect the Inhabitants, by sending out frequent Scouting Parties. You are to apply to Henry Vanmeater for Beeves, (or Provision) which he will deliver out of those I contracted with him for. You are to pass a Receipt to him for such as you receive. You will receive further Orders, as I return from Fort Cumberland.

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9. Similar orders were issued to Capts. John Ashby and Henry Van Meter this same day.

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10. On the South Branch of Potomac.

### **EVENING ORDERS**

Pearsalls, October 23, 1755.

The General to beat to-morrow morning at day-break, and the Troops to march an hour after. As soon as the Guard is Relieved, and the Waggon fitted, the Men are to be called to Arms, by Beat of Drum, and to be tolled off into Platoons, and Marched off Regularly, with each Officer at the head of his Platoon; from which no Soldier is to stir, without leave from his Officer. The great Complaints made of the Soldiers, all the Roads they have Marched, pilaging and plundering of Houses; makes it necessary to give this Publick Notice. That, if any such irregularities are committed for the future, the person guilty shall receive five hundred Lashes, without the Benefit of a Court Martial.

And it is Colonel Washingtons particular Orders, that every Officer does endeavour to prevent such things for the future. The Captain of the Day is to go the Rounds every night, and visit the Guard and Centries. He is to be received as grand Rounds. The Officer of the Guard, to go the Rounds thrice every night, and see that the Centries are alert. The Cattle for the future to be drove in the Rear of the whole body.

### **To GEORGE WILLIAM FAIRFAX**

Pearsalls, October 23, 1755.

Sir: We arrived here to-day, where I met Captains Cocks and Ashby, whom I have appointed to remain on Pattersons Creek;<sup>11</sup> the one at Nicholas Reasmers, the other at Sellars's<sup>12</sup> in order to protect the Inhabitants on those Waters, and to Escort any Waggon to and from Fort Cumberland, with necessaries for the Service. It would be also necessary to have a party of the Militia appointed to this place, for the same purpose; the rest should be stationed above the Trough, at such convenient posts or passes, as you and Colonel Martin shall think advisable. Captain Cocks applied to me for pay; I have referred him to you. Have nothing particular to add, but Compliments to Colonel Martin, &c. Yours, etc.

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11. Pattersons Creek enters the Potomac about 12 miles below Cumberland.

12. Charles Sellars.

## ORDERS

Fort Cumberland, October 26, 1755.

The clothing here in Store, to be delivered out to the most needy of the Men. Those which belong to the Officers, which they formerly received for the use of their Companies, are to be delivered out also: Shoes and Blankets are likewise to be delivered. The Officers to take particular accounts of what is delivered each man. All the men of the Virginia Regiment to be under Arms immediately, in order that they may be inspected by their Officers; and a due Return made of what is most necessary for them. Captain Savage, Lieutenants Blegg, Williams and Stewart,<sup>14</sup> are ordered down to Recruit, and immediately to prepare themselves to set off at an hours warning. The Recruits that came up under the command of Major Lewis, are to be commanded by Captains Woodward and Lewis; Lieutenants Steenbergen and Campbell; and Ensigns Hubbard and Weedon.<sup>15</sup>

The Company, formerly under the command of Captain Bronaugh,<sup>16</sup> to be continued so, until further Orders. The Men are to be acquainted, that their Officers are only sent off for the present occasion to Recruit, and that as soon as they all join, they will be put under the Command of the Officers who enlisted

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14. Capt. John Savage, Lieuts. John Blagg, John Williams, and Walter Stewart.

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15. Maj. Andrew Lewis, Capts. Henry Woodward and Charles or Joshua Lewis, Lieuts. Peter Steenbergen and John Campbell, Ensigns Edward Hubbard and George Weedon.

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16. Capt. William Bronaugh.

them. The Officers who have taken the Soldiers Clothes, are desired to return them immediately to the Publick Stores; as there are not Clothes sufficient in Store for the men.

Captain Waggener<sup>17</sup> is appointed to take care of the Company, lately under Captain Savages command, until further Orders. Lieutenant Lowry<sup>18</sup> to act in Captain Bronaugh's Company, in room of Lieutenant Stewart, until further Orders.

## ORDERS

October 27, 1755.

Parole Dinwiddie.

The date's of all the Officers Commissions that came up yesterday, to be given in to the Adjutant: Corporal Broughton, of the Light Horse, to take all the Horses to the same place where they were before; to remain and take care of them. Lieutenant McManas, Fort Guard to-morrow; Lieutenant Bacon, the Redoubt-Guard.<sup>20</sup> The men who are to be discharged, are to receive a months Pay from Mr. Boyd<sup>21</sup> for each; and to make a deduction for the Nurse of the Hospital,<sup>22</sup> according to the weekly stoppages that should have been made for her.

### To MAJOR ANDREW LEWIS

October 27, 1755.

You are hereby ordered to send out Parties to gather the Corn at the Plantations of those people, who are supposed to be killed or taken prisoners by the Indians, and have it secured for the Publick; taking a particular account of what is gathered from each Planta

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17. Capt. Thomas Waggener.

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18. Lieut. John Lowry.

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20. Of the Maryland troops.

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21. Alexander Boyd.

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22. Mary Bailey, of the hospital at Winchester.

tion. You are also to send out small Parties to Protect the Country People, while they gather their their Corn that is near the Fort. When the Indians arrive with Captain Montour or Gist, you are to see them properly provided with all necessaries, and use your utmost endeavours to see them duly encouraged; and the Officers are all desired to take notice of them and treat them kindly, as their

assistance at this time is absolutely necessary. As there are several people near this place who were killed by the Indians, and have not yet been buried, you are to send out a Party for that purpose. You are to collect all the Arms which have been given out to the Country People, and Fuses (intended for the Indians) which were delivered to the Sergeants here, and return them to the Stores. You are to cause the Bottom on the other side of the Creek to be cleared immediately; which the frequent alarms and hard Duty, have hitherto prevented. You are to see that the Blankets belonging to the Publick, which the Officers made use of on the march, be immediately restored; and you are to deliver to the most needy of the men of the Virginia Regiment, Shoes and Blankets.

The Officers to take notice what men are Served. You are to see that the Articles of War are frequently read to the

men.

### **To CAPTAINS WILLIAM COCKE AND JOHN ASHBY**

October 27, 1755.

You are hereby ordered, to remain with your Companies at George Parkers' Plantation, where you are to erect a Stockade Fort; in building of which, you are to follow Lieutenant Bacons Instructions; he being sent to direct and plan the same: As this is intended for the protection of the Country People, there is no doubt but they will assist all in their power, especially in providing Tools which, without, you may meet with some difficulty. If Lieutenant Bacon should apply for an Escort to conduct him to Captain Ashby's Company, or to any other place, to which it may be dangerous travelling without; you are to see that he is allowed it: You are to send a trusty Sergeant with proper powers &c. for Recruiting, in order to complete your Company. You are to be very careful to see that no h'regularities are committed by your Company, that strict Discipline is observed, and that great pains be taken to inculcate morality and good Harmony, among the Men.

You are to build Barracks therein for your Men, and a Magazine for the Reception of the Stores which are to be sent hither. Also, to receive necessaries for your own Company.

You are to collect all the Publick Arms

and Horses, which you may hear of in the parts adjacent to you, and secure them until they are called for. You are to transmit me the first day of every month, a particular Return of the State of

your Company, relating to the variations that may have happened; as also an exact account of your proceedings since your last Return.

Besides these, you are to send me a weekly Return, signed by yourself and Officer, of the State of your Company. You are to provide yourself upon the most reasonable terms, with such Tools as you find absolutely necessary to carry on the work. You are to receive provisions for immediate use, according to my Order at Pearsalls; and you will hereafter be supplied from this Fort with what you want. By return of the Waggon which came up with Major Lewis's party, you will receive about eight hundred weight of Flour; and that you are to be particular in seeing no waste is committed &c.

N.B. Captain Ashby's Company is stationed at Sellar's and McCrackins;<sup>23</sup> at the direction of Lieutenant Bacon.

### **To LIEUTENANT BACON<sup>13</sup>**

October 26, 1755.

You are to proceed to George Parkers Plantation, where you will meet with Captain William Cocks and his Company of Rangers, who are ordered to

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23. About 5 miles south of Fort Cumberland on the road to Winchester.

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13. Of the Maryland independent company.

erect a Work of Defence at the said place.

You are to make choice of the most convenient Ground, and direct them in building a Quadrangular Fort of Ninety feet, with Bastions. You will direct them in what part of the Fort to build their Barracks, and the most convenient part for a Magazine. Another Fort of the same dimensions is to be built by Captain Ashby's Company, at the Plantation of Charles Sellars, or the late McCrackins; whichsoever you shall judge the most convenient Situation. You are to apply to each of these Companies for a Guard to escort you backwards and forwards, as often as you shall have occasion to go &c.

### **To COMMISSARY ALLAN McLEAN**

[Fort Cumberland], October 26, 1755.

<sup>19</sup>You are to see that the Arms here in Store be immediately inspected by Mr. Frasier; and those fit for duty, to be packed in Chests to be sent down to Winchester the remainder to be repaired by Mr. Frasier. You are to see that as many of the Country Waggons as you have Harness and Horses for, be fitted out immediately. You are to engage all the Coopers you can to make and repair Barrels for the Beef, &c. You are to apply to Major Lewis, who will let you have those that came up with his party.

You are to receive and take an exact account, of all the Corn which is brought in here from the neighbouring plantations, which together with the Oats in Store, is to be delivered out

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19. John Frasier.

only for the publick use, unless by particular Orders from me. You are to send down a Barrel of Flints with the Arms, to Winchester, and about two thousand weight of Flour, for the two Companies of Rangers; twelve hundred of which to be delivered Captain Ashby and Company, at the Plantation of Charles Sellars; the rest to Captain Cokes' Company, at Nicholas Reasmers.

## ORDERS

Winchester, October 28, 1755.

Parole Hampton.

The Officers who came down from Fort Cumberland with Colonel Washington, are immediately to go Recruiting; and they are allowed until the 1st. of December; at which time if they do not punctually appear at the place of Rendezvous assigned them, they will be tried by a Court Martial, for disobedience of Orders.

They are to wait upon the Aid de Camp at one of the Clock, to receive their Recruiting Instructions. Each Officer present, to give in a Return immediately of the number of men he has enlisted. One Subaltern, one Sergeant, one Corporal, one Drummer, and twenty-five private men, are to mount Guard to-day, and to be relieved to-morrow at ten o'clock. All Reports and Returns are to be made to the Aid de Camp.

**To ENSIGN WILLIAM FLEMING<sup>24</sup>**

October 28, 1755.

You are hereby ordered to repair to Captain Hogg's Company at Fort Dinwiddie, with eight good men; as that Company is without a Surgeon, if you will do that duty, an allowance will be made you for it. You are to provide medicines, &c. upon the best terms you can. This Order I expect will be immediately complied with; and that no Delays be offered. You are to account with Captain Bell for your recruiting money, before you leave him. If you should arrive at Augusta Court-House before Sergeant Wilper<sup>25</sup> and his Party, you are to halt there until he joins, in order to escort the Ammunition, &c. for the Fort; where you will receive Clothes and Arms for the Men.

**To CAPTAIN DAVID BELL**

October 28, 1755.

I have Ordered Ensign Fleming to Repair to Captain Hoggs Company with eight good men; which I expect you will see immediately complied with. He is to account with you for his recruiting money before he leaves you.

You are hereby Ordered, peremptorily, to be at this place with what men you have, or can enlist by the 1st. of December. Your late disobedience of Orders has greatly displeased me. It is impossible to carry on affairs as they ought to be, when you pay so little regard to the Force of a Military Order. You must be conscious within yourself (or at least ought to be) that your Crime is sufficient to Break the best Officer that ever bore a Commission.

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24. William Fleming, who later settled in Botetourt County. In 1774 he commanded a regiment at the Battle of Point Pleasant. He became a member of the House of Burgesses and remained in Richmond in 1781 after the governor and legislature fled before Benedict Arnold's advance; as the only State official present he acted as governor, and his measures were later legalized by the legislature.

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25. John David Wilper (Woelper).

**To CAPTAIN PETER HOGG**

October 28, 1755.

Sir; I received yours of the 6th. of October, inclosing the Returns of your Company, only this day. Ferguson<sup>26</sup> was sent after you, but falling ill, by a Sore on his Arm, was ordered to halt here, where he now remains unfit for Duty: therefore I have sent in his room. Sergeant Wilper has received from Fort Cumberland and this place, Arms and Clothing to complete your Company to the Establishment. He has enlisted three men on his March, and I have ordered Ensign Fleming, with eight others, to join you; he being a Surgeon, he is desired to take care of your Company; for which he will be allowed. You must use your best endeavours to secure your provisions, and do with it as you see most needful: It is impossible I can direct about it at this distance, properly. As we have contracted for a large quantity of Beef already, you are desired to engage no more than what will suffice for your own Company. I shall see that money is lodged with Mr. Dick for your use, when I see him. You are to see the usual stoppages from the mens pay while they are in the Hospital, to answer the expence of Nurses, &c.

You must be very careful not to slip the opportunity of purchasing Grain for your Company, that being your only dependance

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26. Duncan Ferguson.

for Bread; the Commissary having no orders to make provisions for you. If any of your men should desert or die, you are immediately to Recruit others, keeping your Company to the Establishment.

**To LIEUTENANT RICHARD BACON<sup>27</sup>**

October 28, 1755.

Sir; As those Stockades on Pattersons Creek, are only intended by way of cover to the Rangers, and as a Receptacle now and then for Provisions; you are desired not to plan any work, which requires much time to execute. We have neither Men or Tools, to carry on the undertaking with vigour.



**To LIEUTENANT COLONEL ADAM STEPHEN**

Winchester, October 29, 1755.

You are hereby Ordered, so soon as the Waggons arrive from Alexandria and Fort Cumberland, with Clothing and Arms, to see the men completely furnished with both; and march them immediately to Fort Cumberland; observing to take up all the Salt which the waggons, provided by the commissary, will carry. There will come down some of the country waggons, which must also be loaded up with Salt.

As there is some clothing wanting to complete the Companies at Fort Cumberland, you are to take up for that purpose forty Coats, thirty-nine waistcoats, and fifty-six pair of Breeches; thirty-eight Hats and eighty Shirts; which you are to have

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27. Of the Maryland independent company.

delivered out to the Companies, according to the Return made me at Fort Cumberland, October 26th. I have sent more Suits than are necessary, in case of getting a Recruit &c. You must do the best you can in Lodging the men, as the Barracks in the Fort are full. As Sergeant Wilper is waiting the return of the waggons from the Fort, for necessities for Captain Hoggs Company; so soon as they arrive, you are to see that he receives such things as he has orders for, and dispatch him immediately. If no other Horses, belonging to the Country, can be had here, one of the Country Teams must be stopped, and the horses given to him. You must engage the herdsmen to remain with the Cattle, until they hear from the Commissary or from me. You must engage all the Coopers you can to make Barrels for packing the Beef; and if any of the Soldiers are Coopers, they must be set immediately to work. You are to receive from the Stores here thirty pounds of Goose-shot, which you will deliver to Captain Ashby's Company as you pass by, directing him to be particularly careful of it. If either of the Captains of the Rangers should apply to you for Ammunition, you are to supply him from the Fort. A Drummer, with his Drum, is to be sent from this place with Sergeant Wilper, in the room of Duncan Ferguson,

who is to go up to Fort Cumberland. You are to see that the men of the Virginia Regiment are exercised as often every day as the duty will admit; and that they are practised also in shooting at Targets; and if there are any who are remarkably awkward, particular pains must be taken with them. You must observe on your march good order and discipline, and see that no irregularities happen; and that the men are not allowed to pillage the Country, which was very much complained

of in the last Detachment. You are to apply to Major Lewis for the Instructions which I left with him, and see that they are observed.

## **To COMMISSARY CHARLES DICK**

Winchester, October 29, 1755.

You are, so soon as you arrive here, to give such directions as you shall see necessary about driving the Cattle to Fort Cumberland. You are to send up Doctor Walker, or go yourself there, to see them killed and properly salted. Whichever of you remains here, must purchase such a quantity of Pork, as you imagine will be necessary for the Troops, upon the most reasonable terms you can; and oblige them to deliver it at whatever time you shall judge most proper. You are to answer, out of the money in your hands, whatever Draughts Captain Hogg may draw on you for the subsistence of his Company, from time to time. You are to see that Coopers are engaged to make Barrels for the Provisions, and to

provide all other necessaries for the Expedition, which you know will be wanted.

As there are several Contracts made by me to have Cattle delivered here &c. by the 1st. of next month, I desire that for such as you receive upon that account, if you have money in your hands, you make immediate payment.

## **ORDERS**

Winchester, October 29, 1755.

Parole Williamsburgh.

One Subaltern, one Sergeant, one Corporal, one Drummer and twenty-five private men, the Guard to-day. Captain Peachy is ordered to take upon him the command of the Recruits which arrived here under Lieutenant Hall and Ensign Price;<sup>28</sup> who are also ordered to act under him, until further orders. Ensign Hedgeman,<sup>29</sup> and the Recruits which arrived with him, are ordered to join Lieutenant King,<sup>30</sup> and be under his command until further orders. Lieutenant Eustace,<sup>31</sup> and the eight men with him, are to join (as soon as they arrive at Fort Cumberland) the Company which Captain Waggener commands at present; and the Party left with Sergeant Shaw,<sup>32</sup> is to return to their

respective Companies, so soon as they reach the Fort. The Commissary is to see that the Magazine is secured, by fastening up the windows &c. better than they now are. The Officers are to see that the men are clo

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28. Lieut. John Hall and Ensign Leonard Price.

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29. Ensign George Hedgeman.

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30. Lieut. John King.

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31. Lieut. Hancock (Heindrick or Hendrick) Eustace.

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32. Sergt. William Shaw.

thed to-morrow, and to be very particular in their Accounts of what they receive. They will also receive Arms so soon as they arrive from Fort Cumberland, to complete their Recruits. They are to see that each man distinguishes his Firelock by some particular mark, which the Subalterns of the Company are to enter in a Book, they are to keep for that purpose. Every Officer is to provide an Orderly Book to enter the Orders in as they issue every day regularly, that they may examine them often, and see they are duly complied with. Captain Bronaugh, Lieutenant Stewart, Blegg and Williams, sent Recruiting, and to Rendezvous at Alexandria, the 1st. of December.

## **To CAPTAIN ROBERT SPOTSWOOD**

October 31, 1755.

You are hereby ordered, as soon as the Clothes and Arms arrive, to furnish all the men who now Rendezvous at Fredericksburgh, with both; and march them immediately with the utmost dispatch to Fort Cumberland, to reinforce the Garorison. When you arrive at Winchester, you must provide your men with Cartridges. You are to be very careful and circumspect in your march; and see that your men do not on any account whatsoever, plunder or pillage the Houses which the people have deserted, or any others, or Plantations. Lieutenant Frazier and Ensign Carter,<sup>33</sup> are appointed to this Command.

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33. Lieut. George Frazier and Ensign Thomas Carter.

**To PAYMASTER ALEXANDER BOYD**

Fredericksburg, November 1, 1755.

As Colonel Stephen has brought £1000 which I wrote for to pay off the Troops, it will save you a journey to Williamsburg at this time; but I think it absolutely necessary that you should, after paying the Troops in Garrison, go into Augusta, to pay off Captain Hoggs Company, which is now complete; unless you can send the money by Mr. McClenachan,<sup>34</sup> or some safe hand from hence. The Recruits at Fort Cumberland are all paid off to the 1st. of October as private men, there being no distinction made between them and Sergeants, none having yet been regularly appointed.

Colonel Stephen will give you an account of those he has paid, and how. If any have received Sergeants pay, it must be deducted next payment: as also

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34. Thomas(?) McClenachan.

two-pence per month, from each non-commissioned Officer and Soldier for purchasing medicines; this is to be paid to the Surgeon Quarterly. There is also six-pence per month to be stopped from the Drummers, to be paid to the Drum-Major for teaching them, and repairing the Drums. These deductions you are hereby ordered to make each pay-day; less countermanded by the Governor or myself. If any non-commissioned Officer or Soldier should happen to die, he is to be continued on the pay-roll as an effective man, for twenty-eight days, to pay for his Coffin, &c.<sup>35</sup> I am &c.

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35. This precise direction was Governor Dinwiddie's instruction to Washington.

**To COMMISSARY THOMAS WALKER**

Williamsburg, November 11, 1755.

You are hereby Ordered to proceed with the utmost dispatch to Winchester, where you will receive the Orders left there by me, which you are, as soon as possible, to execute. The Cattle I shall leave entirely to you, to order up altogether or in small droves, as you shall think proper. You are to set up Advertisements, at all the public places convenient to the Fort, for the Inhabitants to bring in all the Pork they can spare, and that they will be allowed the market price, and ready money for any Quantity. You are then to proceed to the Fort, where the Beeves and Hogs are

to be killed, with all convenient dispatch; and you are to see that they are well salted and packed up in the Barrels, which you are to have made for that purpose. The Salt is to be forwarded to the Fort with the utmost dispatch from Winchester, or other places where it is lodged.

**To CAPTAIN ROBERT STEWART<sup>42</sup>**

Fredericksburgh, November 18, 1755.

You are to repair immediately to Winchester; in the neighbourhood of which you are to recruit your Troops to the establishment of men. You are not to go any distance from that Town, until further Orders, as you will have the care of the Recruits which rendezvous there. You are to direct Corporal Broughton, who has the charge of the Troop of Horses, to be particularly careful of them; and you are to receive a horse that was left at Joseph Edwards, as one of the number. If any advices should come from Fort Cumberland or other places, you are to dispatch an Express with a return of the Troop, and Letters to me immediately, ordering him to proceed to Alexandria by Vestalls Gap.<sup>43</sup> You are not to enlist Servants or Apprentices; nor are you to discharge any person after he is duly enlisted; which I am informed has been practised by some of the Officers. You are to forward the Letter for the Pay-master, by that Messenger you send to the Fort for

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42. Of the Light Horse.

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43. Later known as Williams Gap; farther north in the Blue Ridge than Snickers Gap, which became the more-traveled route into the Shenandoah.

your Sergeant.

**To LIEUTENANT AUSTIN BROCKENBROUGH**

Fredericksburgh, November 18, 1755.

You are to proceed to those public places, where you have the greatest probability of success, and use your utmost endeavours to enlist what able-bodied men you can for his Majesty's Service. You are not to enlist Servants or Apprentices, nor discharge any man after he is duly enlisted, upon any pretence whatsoever. In marching your Recruits

to the place of Rendezvous, if there are any complaints of their misbehaviour, you will be liable to the censure of a Court Martial. You are to have particular regard to your recruiting Instructions, and to be at Alexandria, your place of Rendezvous, with what men you have raised, on the 1st of December precisely.

N.B. The same instructions to Ensigns Milner and Smith;<sup>44</sup> with this difference, that Milner is allowed to the 25th. of December.

**To PAYMASTER ALEXANDER BOYD**

Fredericksburg, November 18, 1755.

I have had advice of Captain Hogg's Company at Fort Dinwiddie mutinying for want of their pay; which must be attributed entirely to your neglect: as I gave you orders in my last, to go, or send to that Fort, with the money for that Company. If you should not have sent it before this reaches you, you are to proceed immediately to that Fort, with two months' pay. You are only to pay the effective men &c.

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44. Ensigns Nathaniel Milner and Charles Smith.

**To LIEUTENANT COLONEL ADAM STEPHEN**

Fredericksburgh, November 18, 1755.

Sir: I came to this place on Sunday last, and intended to proceed immediately up;<sup>36</sup> but receiving yours and other Letters contradicting the reports lately transmitted, determined me to go to Alexandria; where I shall wait a few days, in hopes of receiving the express from General Shirley, who the Governor sent to for commissions for the Field Officers.

I beg that you will be particularly careful in seeing strict order observed among the Soldiers, as that is the Life of Military discipline. We now have it in our Power to enforce obedience; and obedience will be expected from us; the Men being subject to death, as in Military Law. The Country have also offered a reward to all who will apprehend deserters; and a severe punishment upon those, who shall entertain or suffer them to pass; also upon any constable who refuses to convey them to their Quarters, or suffer them to Escape, after such deserter is committed to their custody.

These things, with the Articles of War, and a proper exhortation, I would have you immediately read to the Men; and see that it is frequently done hereafter. I must desire that you will use all possible means to facilitate the Salting our Provisions; and to give the Commissary such assistance of Men &c. as he shall ocasonably require. The Governor approves of the Committee's resolve, in not allowing

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36. To Winchester.

either the Maryland or Carolina Companies to be supported out of our Provisions; this you are desired to make them acquainted with, and in case either of the Company's shoud be discharged, to use your utmost endeavours to enlist so many of their Men as you can. Lieutenant McManus<sup>37</sup> has leave to go to Carolina if he desires it. The Assembly would make no alteration in the Militia Law; nor would the Governor order them to be draughted to compleate our Regiment; so that the slow method of Recruiting, is likely to be our only means to raize the Men. I think, coud a brisk Officer and two or three Sergeants be sent among the Militia stationed on the South Branch, they would have a probable chance of engaging many; as some seemed Inclinaire in Winchester to enlist.

Doctor Craik<sup>38</sup> is expected round to Alexandria in a Vessel, with Medicines and other Stores for the Regiment; so soon as he arrives, I shall take care to despatch him to you.

The Colonels Bird and Randolph, are appointed Commissioners;<sup>39</sup> and will set out very shortly with a present, c. to the Country of the Cherokees, in order to engage them to our Interest.

We have advices that the King return'd to London from Hanover on the 26th. of September, that War was Proclaim'd the 29th., and that we have already taken 5 of their Men of War and 120 Sail of Merchant Men; a bold stroke by jove; a glorious beginning; and I hope presages our future success. The Man of War mention'd in my last is not yet arriv'd, tho hourly expected; it is said (tho I can't believe it the King not being arriv'd when other ship left England) that she has Commission's for us:<sup>40</sup> Another ship of War was said to be dispatched to America imediately upon the declaration so that I have sanguine expectation's we soon shall receive them if they are not already on their way. I am encourag'd to hope this as all the Publick Prints, private Letters, and Gentleman from England say; that the behaviour of the Virginia Troops is greatly extold, and meets with public praises in all the Coffee Houses in London. Yea they exceed the bounds of probability (which I am sorry for) by saying in the London Magazine for August, that 300 Virginians maintain'd an unequal fight against 1600 French and Indians for three hour's after the Regular's fled. The Generals conduct is much condemn'd and the acct. further says; it is not to be wonder'd that those Regiments shou'd act so

scandalously here when their behaviour reflected such dishonour on their Country at the Battle of Preston Pan's.<sup>41</sup>

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37. Lieutenant McManus belonged to the North Carolina troops.

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38. Dr. James Craik, of Alexandria, a lifelong friend of Washington. He was surgeon to the Virginia Regiment and later chief physician and surgeon of the Continental Army. He was one of the attending physicians at Washington's last illness.

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39. Peter Randolph and William Byrd. Commissioners to treat with the southern Indians. They successfully negotiated a treaty and returned to Williamsburg in 1756.

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40. That would settle the dispute of rank with the captains of the independent companies.

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41. Prestonpans, in Scotland, a few miles from Edinburgh. The battle (in the War of the Austrian Succession) occurred Sept. 21, 1745, and was a victory for the pretender, Charles Edward.

By return of the express that brings this, I desire to have a return of the Troops with any occurrences and the News that may have happen'd. I am etc.

### **To ENSIGN DENNIS McCARTHY**

November 22, 1755.

I am very sorry you have given me occasion to complain of your conduct in Recruiting; and to tell you, that the methods and unjustifiable means you have practised, are very unacceptable, and have been of infinitely prejudice to the Service: of this I am informed by many Gentlemen, as well as by all the Officers who were ordered to recruit in these parts: and am further assured, that it is next to an impossibility to get a man where you have been; such terror have you occasioned by forcibly taking, confining and torturing those, who would not voluntarily enlist. These proceedings not only cast a slur upon your own Character, but reflect dishonour upon mine; as giving room to conjecture, that they have my concurrence for their source. I must therefore acquaint you, that such Behaviour in an Officer would shake his Commission! Let it then be a warning to you, who I still hope, erred more through inadvertence than design; for which reason, I shall forget the past, in sanguine hopes of what is to come. I am &c.



**To LIEUTENANT COLONEL ADAM STEPHEN**

Alexandria, November 28, 1755.

Sir: I received your two Letters by Jenkins last Night, and was greatly surpris'd to hear that Commissary Walker<sup>45</sup> was not arriv'd at Camp, when he came away. He set out from Williamsburgh about the 12th instant, with orders to proceed immediately up; but such disobedience of commands, as I have generally met with is insufferable, and shall not go unpunished! The account you enclosed of the method of receiving the Beef, I suppose is customary; but for want of judgment in those affairs, I can neither applaud nor condemn it. I am as much astonish'd as you was surprized, at the quantity of Salt said to be wanted for the Provision's, but certain it is, that if it, or a greater quantity is absolutely necessary, it must be had. I have left a discretionary power in Commissary Walker, to kill or Winter the Carolina Beeves, as the Interest of Service requires. Pray assist him with your advice, and urge him on to make the necessary purchases of Flour and Pork, in time.

The Governour did not seem inclinable to promote the removal of the Fort; however, the Committee have lodged a discretionary power in my hands, and have resolved to pay for all extraordinary Work.<sup>46</sup> I would therefore have as little labour lost at Fort Cumberland as possible; at least until I come up, which

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45. Thomas Walker; appointed as an additional commissary

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46. On the fort at Wills Creek.

will be very shortly, my stay here being only for a few days, in order to receive Recruits, and hurry up the Stores to Winchester.

I believe those, who say Governour Sharpe is to command, can only wish it. I don't know that General Shirley has a power to appoint a chief to our Forces,—to regulars he may. As to that affair of turning the Store-House into a dwelling Room; I dont know what better answer to give, than saying, that this is one among the many instances that might be given, of the inconveniences of having the Fort in Maryland. As soon as I hear from Governor Shirley, which is hourly expected, I can then send a more determined answer.

There has been such total negligence among the Recruiting Officers in general; such disregard of the Service, and such idle proceedings, that I am determined to send out none until we all meet

together, when each Officer shall receive his own men and have only this alternative, either to compleat his number, or loose his Commission. There are several Officers who have been out 6 weeks and two months, without getting a Man; spending their time in all the gayety of pleasurable mirth, with their relations and Friends; not attempting, or having a possible chance of recruiting any but those who, out of their inclination to the service, will proffer themselves.

I should be glad to have ten or

twelve Waggon sent to this place, for salt, enough may be had here to load that number; and it comes upon easier terms than at Fredericksburg by 6d. or 8d. per bushel. Those stores at Watkins's Ferry and Conogochieg should be hurried up as fast as the Water affords opportunitys, if it were only to prevent disputes. The enclosed for Lieutenant McManus I shou'd be glad to have forwarded by the first opportunity.

If the paymaster is at Winchester, and not on his way to Fort Dinwiddie, order him down here immediately. If he should be going with Pay to Captain Hogg<sup>47</sup> he is to proceed with despatch; but if he is at Fort Cumberland, order him down to Winchester, to wait there until I arrive. I am, &c.

## **To CAPTAIN PETER HOGG**

Alexandria, November 28, 1755.

I am sorry to find by your Returns that the men are deserting, and fear you do not take proper means to prevent it. The last account I had from you was of the 3d. instant; mentions your not having received the Salt, Iron, &c. which surprizes me greatly; Major Lewis having ordered it up sometime ago: and by Mr. Dicks accompt., I stand charged with the several Articles. However, I have repeated my Orders, and hope you will be soon supplied, if it has not already reached you.

I ordered from Winchester in October, that two months pay should be remitted

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47. Captain Hogg's men had mutinied because of the failure to pay them.— *Sparks*.

you immediately by some safe hand; if that could not be done, the paymaster was then to carry it himself: and I can not conceive the reason that you have not received it. As to the pay for your Beeves, it may be had by drawing upon Mr, Walker, who is now appointed Commissary for the Expedition.

The late Assembly have offered a reward to all who will apprehend Deserters; and a severe punishment upon any who shall detain or assist them in escaping. Also upon all Constables who shall refuse to receive and convey them to the Troop or Company to which they belong; or shall suffer them to escape after they are committed to their care.

I must again order, that you will be diligent in seeing those Orders executed which I left with you. I expect some Recruits here the 1st. of next month: and shall, if any can be spared, order another Subaltern and twenty-five men, to join you. Yours &c.

## **ORDERS**

Alexandria, December 3, 1755.

Captain Bronaugh is ordered to hold himself in readiness to repair to Winchester immediately. All the other Officers now present, except Captain John Mercer, and Ensign Buckner, are to hold themselves in readiness to set out for Recruiting, and are to wait on Colonel Washington, at 2 O'Clock this Evening for their Orders. Captain John Mercer is to prepare himself to go to Williamsburgh; and Ensign Buckner to remain here, to take charge of the Recruits, receive and deliver the Public Stores. Each Officer to make out an accompt. of what pay is due himself and men to the 1st. of December, and to give them in to-morrow morning at 9 o'clock, to the Aid de camp, and they will be paid. If any of the Volunteers or Cadets have a desire to go with any of the Recruiting Officers, to assist them, they will have leave.

And it is Colonel Washingtons orders, they do not attempt to Recruit by or for, themselves.

## **To CAPTAIN JOSHUA LEWIS**

Alexandria, December 3, 1755.

You are hereby ordered, to continue Recruiting until the 25th. Instant; at which time you are with your Recruits, to be at Winchester without fail.

You are to proceed to all Elections and other public meetings that you can possibly attend, between this and the said 25th. of December; and use your utmost endeavours, to enlist such able-bodied men as are fit for his Majesty's Service.

You are to enlist no Servants or Apprentices; nor are you to discharge any man after he is duly enlisted, upon any pretence whatsoever; neither are you invested with power to impress Horses, &c. as had been practised hitherto without leave: In all other respects you are to govern yourself strictly by your General Instructions: and be assured, if any just complaint is made of the misbehaviour of your men, in their march to the place of Rendezvous, you will be liable to answer it before a Court Martial.

**To CAPTAIN WILLIAM BRONAUGH**

Alexandria, December 3, 1775.

You are hereby ordered to proceed immediately to Winchester, with the money entrusted to your care, which is to be delivered to Mr. Boyd, Paymaster; taking his Receipt for the same. If it should happen that Mr. Boyd is returned to Fort Cumberland, you are to follow him to that place. After delivering this money, you are to employ your time diligently until the 25th. of December, in recruiting; at which time you are to be at Winchester without fail. You are to observe the Instructions given you before; \* \* \*<sup>48</sup>

**To COMMISSARY THOMAS WALKER**

Alexandria, December 3, 1755.

I received yours by Lieutenant Lemon, and am sorry to find that the Carolina Beeves are so unfit for Slaughtering: of this I was informed in a late Letter from Colonel Stephens: in consequence I desired him to assist you with his advice, either to kill & salt, or feed them this winter; as Mr. Dick entered into contract with Shepherd,<sup>49</sup> whose *all* I believe, depends upon my confirming

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48. The rest of the instructions are the same as those given to Capt. Joshua Lewis, this date.

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49. Andrew Shepherd.

or rejecting the Bargain: I shall endeavour to avoid, as much as is in my power taking any advantages that may distress the poor man; or disannul any agreement Mr. Dick has made: but you are nevertheless to make the best of this bad bargain; perhaps he would take the poor Cattle back to Carolina, and keep them until the Spring, for a small consideration. Provender is very scarce in this

Colony; however consult Colonel Stephen and others who can advise; and do the best with them for the good of the Service. I have engaged about two hundred bushels of Salt at this place, which you are to send for as soon as possible. Whoever you have appointed Deputy at Winchester, must be very diligent in seeing this done.

I do not care to lay in Provisions for more than twelve hundred men, without particular Orders from the Governor; whom I shall consult on that head, and let you know. If you find our paper-money will not pass current in Maryland, you should be careful to employ as few of their water-men as possible; that we may sustain no loss upon that account. You should also, for the same reason, purchase what Flour &c. you can, in our own Colony. As I am unacquainted with the proper methods to cure provisions, I must desire you will consult the principal Officers at the Fort; and if their opinions corroborate with yours, let some of the Beef be dried, as

you propose. I must recommend diligence in the strongest terms to you (at this time particularly) much depending upon your activity, as the Season is so far advanced. I can not help telling you, I am sorry you was so long between Williamsburgh and Winchester.

I am informed, that meat will lie sometime in bulk without salt. I think you should not delay slaughtering the Beeves one moment.

I hope you have sent Orders to Mr. McLean already about this; if not, pray do; for the Cattle must lose flesh every hour. I am &c.

## **To LIEUTENANT COLONEL ADAM STEPHEN**

Alexandria, December 3, 1755.

Your Letters, by Jenkins,<sup>50</sup> were sometime coming to hand; as I suppose mine will be in getting to you; he being ordered round by Fredericksburgh. The Employ you mention, in apprehending Deserters, is very laudable; nevertheless I must desire you will repair immediately to the Fort, to see that the Orders left there, and those you have since received, are punctually complied with. If you find that the Hill apposite to Fort Cumberland, upon a proper review, is capable of containing a sufficient work of defence, and that the adjoining hill has not the command of it; you may order Timber and other necessaries to be got, to erect a Fort and Barrack there.

I have ordered some falling axes to be made here, and shall provide some broad

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50. William Jenkins, express rider.

ones out of the Stores, which shall be sent up by the first Waggon. I wait here in hourly expectation of seeing a Vessel from Hampton with Sundries for the use of the Regiment as soon as she arrives, and I have sent off the contents, I shall set out for Winchester.

I am extremely sorry to hear that the men still continue to desert; and must think, it is partly owing to mismanagement: and their escape, to inactivity of the Officers: Surely they do not pursue them with proper resolution, or they might be taken. I have not yet received the Mutiny Bill; it shall be forwarded when I do. Yesterday being the time appointed to Rendezvous here, came in ten Officers, with twenty Recruits; which make up the number at this place, twenty-five Great! As to what you desire, of going on an Embassy to the Creeks and Cherokees; I have no more right to give leave for as long an absence, than I have to commission you with proper authorities for such an undertaking: both must proceed from the Governour. If he approves, I have no objection. But, if I may offer my opinion, I can scarcely think he will; since the Colonels, Bird and Randolph, are already appointed. I have sent up a thousand pounds to Mr Boyd, for payment of the Troops: and Mr. Lemon informing me the Rangers were complaining on this head; I have ordered him to send money for paying them also: Colonel

Fairfax not being in the way to do it.

I would have you send as many Officers as you can spare, after acquainting them with the determination mentioned in my last, to the Election in Fredericksburgh and Hampshire, and to all other public meetings: I am deceived, if those public places will not afford men, if pains are taken. Give each a copy of the enclosed Instructions. I have thought it advisable, since my last letter to you, to employ the Officers in this Service; the Elections affording favourable opportunities to increase our numbers: to neglect which I should be loth. They must be punctual in repairing to the Rendezvous at the limited time; for then I shall endeavour to put this Service under better regulations, &c. Yours

N.B. I wish you would take a party, and examine well the Hill at the mouth of Patterson's Creek: I have a *great* notion that is a very good place.<sup>51</sup>

**To PAYMASTER ALEXANDER BOYD**

Alexandria, December 3, 1755.

You will receive from the Bearer, Captain Bronaugh, one thousand pounds, for payment of the Troops; which you are to see immediately done, agreeably to their muster Rolls; having regard to those Instructions of the 28th. October. As I understand the Rangers are complaining for want of their pay; you must send such part of this money as is sufficient to do that; and also one months pay to Captain

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51. For a fort.

Hogg's Company, if any opportunity offers.

You are to be particularly exact and careful in these payments: seeing that there is no disagreement between the Returns, and your Pay-Rolls; as there will be strict examination into it hereafter. I am &c.

### **To ROBERT DINWIDDIE**

Alexandria, December 5, 1755.

Honble. Sir: I have sent the bearer, Captain John Mercer (who has accompts. to settle with the Committee), to the treasurer for the balance of that ten thousand pounds; and to acquaint your Honour, that, meeting with letters at Fredericksburg, as I returned from Williamsburg, informing me that all was peaceable above, and that nothing was so immediately wanting as salt. I got what I could at that place, and hastened on here to engage more; to receive the recruits expected in; and to wait the arrival of the vessel with arms, &c., from James River, in order to forward them up with the greater despatch. The vessel is not yet arrived.

I have impatiently expected to hear the result of your Honour's letter to General Shirley; and wish that the de

lays may not prove ominous. In that case, I shall not know how to act; for I can never submit to the command of Captain Dagworthy, since you have honoured me with the command of the Virginia regiment, &c.<sup>52</sup>

The country has sustained inconceivable losses by delaying the commissaries at Williamsburg: Many of the Carolina beeves are dead, through absolute poverty; and the chief part of them too poor to slaughter. We are at a loss how to act, for want of the mutiny bill; and should be obliged to your Honour, if you will have fifty or a hundred printed, and sent by the bearer. There is a clause in that bill, which if you are not kind enough to obviate it, will prevent entirely the good intention of

it: i.e., delaying the execution of sentences, until your Honour shall be made acquainted with the proceedings of the court. *This*, at times when there is the greatest occasion for examples, will be morally impossible (I mean, while we are on our march; perhaps near the Ohio,) when none but strong parties can pass with safety: at all times it must be attended with great expense, trouble and inconveniency. This I represented to Colonel Corbin, and some other gentlemen of the Council, when I was down; who said that that objection to the Bill would be removed, by your Honour's giving blank warrants, to be filled up as occasion should require. This would effectually remedy all those evils, and put things in their proper channel.

We suffer greatly for want of

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52. The old difficulty of rank between provincial officers and those holding commissions from the King had been revived at Fort Cumberland. Immediately after the affair of the Great Meadows the Assembly of Maryland granted the small sum of £6,000 for the defense of the frontiers, and in the following December they passed an act authorizing the governor to raise a military force. A few soldiers only were enlisted, and at this time a Maryland company of 30 men was stationed at Fort Cumberland under the command of Capt. John Dagworthy, who had been an officer in the Canada expedition during the last war and had received a King's commission. Governor Innes had gone home to North Carolina on his private affairs. Dagworthy assumed the command and refused to obey any orders of a provincial officer, however high in rank. This created wrangling and insubordination among the inferior officers, who took sides. The Governor of Maryland was tardy in giving any decisive orders to Dagworthy, because the fort was in that province, and he seemed willing to consider it under his command. Governor Dinwiddie argued that it was a King's fort, built by an order sent to him from the King, chiefly by forces in the King's pay, and that it could in no sense be regarded as subject to the authority of Maryland. And, moreover, as Captain Dagworthy had commuted his half pay for a specific sum of money, his commission had thereby become obsolete, and there was no propriety in his pretending to act under it; and it was an absurdity for a captain with 30 men, who in reality had no other commission than that from the Governor of Maryland, to claim precedence of the commander in chief of all the Virginia forces. Colonel Washington made a forcible remonstrance to the governor and council at Williamsburg and insisted on a speedy arrangement that should put an end to the difficulty. To effect this purpose Governor Dinwiddie sent an express to General Shirley, commander of his Majesty's forces in North America, stating the particulars of the case and requesting from him brevet commissions for Colonel Washington and the field officers under him; proposing, at the same time, that these commissions should only imply rank, without giving any claim to pay from the King.



kettles: those sent from below being tin, are of short duration. We shall also, in a little time, suffer as much for the want of clothing; none can be got in these parts; those which Major Carlyle and Dalton contracted to furnish, we are disappointed off. Shoes and stockings we have, and get more if wanted, but nothing else. I should be glad your Honor would direct what is to be done in these cases; and that you would be kind enough to desire the treasurer to send some part of the money in gold and silver: were this done, we might often get necessities for the regiment in Maryland, or Pennsylvania, when they cannot be had here. But with our money it is impossible; our paper not passing there.

The recruiting service goes on extremely slow. Yesterday being a day appointed for rendezvousing at this place, there came in ten officers with twenty men only. If I had any other than paper money, and you approved of it; I would send to Pennsylvania and the borders of Carolina: I am confident, men might be had there. Your Honor never having given any particular directions about the provisions; I should be glad to know, whether you would have more laid in than what will serve for twelve hundred men; that I may give orders accordingly.

As I cannot now conceive, that any great danger can be apprehended at Fort Cumberland this winter; I am sensible, that my constant attendance there, cannot

be so serviceable as riding from place to place, making the proper dispositions, and seeing that all our necessities are forwarded up with despatch. I therefore think it advisable to inform your Honour of it, hoping that it will correspond with your own opinion.

I forgot to mention when I was down, that Mr. Livingston,<sup>53</sup> the Fort Major, was appointed adjutant to our regiment: I knew of none else whose long servitude in a military way, had qualified better for the office; he was appointed the 17th of September.

Captain Mercer's pay as aid-de-camp seems yet doubtful; I should be glad if your Honour would fix it; so is Captain Stewart's.<sup>54</sup> If Captain Stewart's is increased, I suppose all the officers belonging to the light-horse will expect to have theirs augmented also. Colonel Stephens, in a late letter, discovered an inclination to go to the Creek and Cherokee Indians this winter. I told him where to apply, if he had any such thoughts. I believe, on so useful a business, he might be spared until the spring. If your Honor think proper to order the act of Assembly for apprehending deserters, and against harbouring them, to be published every Sunday in each parish church, until the people were made acquainted with the law, it would have a very good effect. The commonalty in general err more through ignorance than design. Few of them are acquainted that such a law exists: and there is no other certain way of bringing it to their knowledge. There are a great many of the men that did once

belong to our companies, deserted from the regiments into which they were draughted, that would now gladly return, if they could

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53. James Livingston.

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54. Capt. Robert Stewart.

be sure of indemnity. If your Honor would be kind enough to intimate *this* to General Shirley, or the colonels of those regiments, it would be of service to us: without leave, we dare not receive them. I am, &c.

### **To LIEUTENANT GEORGE FRAZIER**

Alexandria, December 5, 1755.

As a quantity of Salt is wanted at Fort Cumberland for curing the provisions, you must endeavour to purchase it upon the best terms you can; and I shall fulfil any contract you may enter into. What I have engaged here,

has been at 2/ per bushel. You may procure six or eight hundred bushels at that rate, and see that they are forwarded to Winchester as expeditiously as possible: in order to do this, you must hire and impress Waggon; those Horses which were send round from Williamsburgh, are also to go up; and a Military Chest which Mr. Allen<sup>55</sup> made for me, is to receive the first conveyance. You are to remain in Fredericksburgh and Falmouth, seeing these things done, until further Orders.

All the Recruits which now are, and shall arrive at Fredericksburgh, between this and the 25th. Instant, must immediately proceed to the Rendezvous at Winchester.

N.B. Enquire of Mr. Dick and other Merchants, whether Commissary Walker has engaged Salt of them: if he has, you have then only to forward it up.

### **To CAPTAIN ROBERT STEWART**

Alexandria, December 8, 1755.

You are hereby required to take charge of the Recruits sent to Winchester by Captain Gist; whose Son you must Order to proceed immediately and join his Father.<sup>60</sup>

Captain Gist this day received one hundred pounds to recruit with; and the same Orders that were given to the other Officers on the 3d. instant. &c.

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55. James Allen

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60. Capt. Christopher Gist, who commanded a company of rangers. His two sons. Nathaniel and Thomas, were both in the service.

### **To DOCTOR JAMES CRAIK**

Alexandria, December 16, 1755.

So soon as the Vessel with the Stores and medicines arrives, you are to embrace the first opportunity that offers, of conveying up your Chest, and proceeding, yourself, to Winchester. You are to provide yourself here, with what you think will be wanting for the Hospital, and bring them up with you; taking care to purchase no more than is absolutely necessary, for the support and relief of the Regiment.

### **ORDERS**

Winchester, December 20, 1755.

Parole Albemarle.

A Return to be given in immediately of the Recruits now in this town, by the several Officers who enlisted them; mentioning their height, age, trade, &c. The Officers to see that the Sergeants who understand the manual Exercise, do drill the Recruits, at least twice a-day.

### **ORDERS**

Winchester, December 22, 1755.

Parole Boston.

A Return is to be made every morning to Colonel Washington of the number of men in this town; and all contingences.

During his stay here, no provision is to be delivered out, but by a *written* order from him or the aid de camp. The Commissary is to send up the Cask of Tools by the first Waggon that goes to the Fort. The following men being judged unfit for Duty, on Review; are ordered to be discharged: Viz.

Francis Harlowin. Enlisted by Ensign Fleming

William Cross\*\*\*\*

William Passwater\*\*\*\*

Patrick Connelly\*\* Lieutenant Brokenbrough

Henry Banks\*\* Captain McKenzie

John Hanks, an old Soldier.

The Commissary is to allow each of them eight days provision to carry them home.

All the Recruits now in town, who have not received Clothes and Arms; are to have them delivered to them to-day. The Officers and Commissary to be very exact; and see that none of them receive twice. The Commissary to see that the Store-Houses are immediately repaired and secured: he is also to give in a return of the Arms which have been delivered to George Wright to repair.

## ORDERS

Winchester, December 23, 1755.

Parole Chichester.

The soldiers who received their discharge yesterday, are to attend at the Head-Quarters at 2 O'clock; and they will receive some money to bear their expences home.

They are not to be allowed to take

their Regimentals with them; but, if they are very naked, may take their Blankets.

Although there were express orders given for Returns being made regularly every morning, none have yet been given in. If it is neglected again, the Officer, whose duty it is to collect and make them, will be put under an Arrest.

## **ORDERS**

December 25, 1755.

It is Colonel Washington's Orders, that all the Recruits now in this town, except those belonging to the Troop of Light Horse, be under the Command of Captain Bell; and that Ensign Thompson act as his Subaltern, until further Orders. The Commanding Officers of Companies to give in an exact return to the Commissary to-morrow morning, at 9 O'Clock, of their men, signed by themselves.

The Recruits, belonging to the Troop of Light Horse, to be in Town to-morrow morning, by nine o'clock, and to be drawn up with those under the Command of Captain Bell, and have the Articles of War read to them. The Commissary is to deliver out, at ten o'clock to-morrow, three days provision to all the Recruits, agreeable to the returns which he shall receive, signed by the Officers.

As two of the Deserters, mentioned in the morning Orders, are brought in by some country people; those Orders are Countermanded. Any Soldier who shall desert, though he return again, shall be hanged without Mercy.

No Soldier upon any pretence whatsoever, is to go more than a mile, (without leave) from the Town. Any Soldier taken, beyond that distance, will be treated as a Deserter. All Orders relating to the men, are constantly to be read to them by an Officer of the Company. The Roll of each Company to be called by a Commissioned Officer, morning, noon and night; and a Return of the absent or disorderly to be given in to the Commanding Officer of the Regiment.